

THE
WORKS
OF
CORNELIUS TACITUS.

T H E

W O R K S

O F

CORNELIUS TACITUS:

B Y

ARTHUR MURPHY, Esq.

W I T H

AN ESSAY ON THE LIFE AND GENIUS OF TACITUS;

NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, AND MAPS.

* 2942.3
7.4.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes ficeantur, utque pravis dictis factisque
ex pollicitate et infamiâ metus fit.

TACITUS, Annals, iii. f. 65.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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A
T R E A T I S E
ON THE
SITUATION, MANNERS, AND PEOPLE
OF
G E R M A N Y.

VOL. IV.

B

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This tract was composed by Tacitus in the

Year of Rome—of Christ

Consuls

851

98

Nerva, the 4th time. Trajan, the 2d.

A
T R E A T I S E
O N T H E
SITUATION, MANNERS, AND PEOPLE
O F
G E R M A N Y.

I. **T**HE whole vast country of Germany (*a*) is separated from Gaul (*b*), from Rhætia and Pannonia, by the Rhine and the Danube; from Dacia and Sarmatia, by a chain of mountains (*c*), and, where the mountains subside, mutual dread forms a sufficient barrier. The rest is bounded by the ocean, embracing in its depth of water, several spacious bays (*d*), and islands of prodigious extent, whose kings and people are now, in some measure, known to us, the progress of our arms having made (*e*) recent discoveries. The Rhine has its source on the steep and lofty summit of the Rhætian Alps (*f*), from which it precipitates, and, after winding towards the west, directs

rects its course through a long tract of country, and falls into the Northern Ocean. The Danube, gushing down the soft and gentle declivity of the mountain Abnoba (*g*), visits several nations in its progress, and at last, through six channels (the seventh is absorbed in fens and marshes), discharges itself into the Pontic Sea.

II. THE Germans, there is reason to think, are an indigenous race (*a*), the original natives of the country, without any intermixture of adventitious settlers from other nations. In the early ages of the world, the adventurers, who issued forth in quest of new habitations, did not traverse extensive tracts of land (*b*); the first migrations were made by sea. Even at this day the Northern Ocean, vast, and boundless, and, as I may say, always at enmity with mariners (*c*), is seldom navigated by ships from our quarter of the world. Putting the dangers of a turbulent and unknown sea out of the case, who would leave the softer climes of Asia, Africa, or Italy, to fix his abode (*d*) in Germany? where nature offers nothing but scenes of deformity; where the inclemency of the seasons never relents; where the land presents a dreary region, without form or culture, and, if we except the affection of a native for his mother country, without an allurements to make life supportable. In old songs and ballads (*e*), the only memorials of antiquity amongst them, the god Tuisto (*f*), who was born of the Earth, and Mannus, his son, are celebrated as the founders of the German race. Mannus (*g*), it is said, had three sons, from whom the Ingævones, who border on the sea-coast; the Hermiones, who inhabit the midland country; and the Istævones, who occupy the remaining tract, have all respectively derived their names. Some, indeed, taking advantage of the obscurity that hangs over remote and fabulous ages, ascribe to the god Tuisto a more numerous issue, and thence

trace

trace the names of various tribes, such as the Marfians, the Gambrivians (*b*), the Suevians, and the Vandals (*i*). The ancient date and authenticity of those names are, as they contend, clearly ascertained. The word Germany (*k*) is held to be of modern addition. In support of this hypothesis, they tell us that the people, who first passed the Rhine, and took possession of a canton in Gaul, though known at present by the name of Tungrians, were, in that expedition, called Germans, and thence the title assumed by a band of emigrants, in order to spread a general terror in their progress, extended itself by degrees, and became, in time, the appellation of a whole people. They have a current tradition that Hercules (*l*) visited those parts. When rushing to battle, they sing, in preference to all other heroes, the praises of that ancient worthy.

III. THE Germans abound with rude strains of verse, the reciters of which, in the language of the country, are called BARDS (*a*). With this barbarous poetry they inflame their minds with ardour in the day of action, and prognosticate the event from the impression which it happens to make on the minds of the soldiers, who grow terrible to the enemy, or despair of success, as the war-song (*b*) produces an animated or a feeble sound. Nor can their manner of chanting this savage prelude be called the tone of human organs: it is rather a furious uproar; a wild chorus of military virtue. The vociferation used upon these occasions is uncouth and harsh, at intervals interrupted by the application of their bucklers to their mouths, and by the repercussion bursting out with redoubled force. An opinion prevails among them, that Ulysses, in the course of those wanderings, which are so famous in poetic story, was driven into the Northern Ocean, and that, having penetrated into the country,

he built, on the banks of the Rhine, the city of Asciburgium (*c*), which is inhabited at this day, and still retains the name given originally by the founder. It is further added, that an altar dedicated to Ulysses (*d*), with the name of Laertes, his father, engraved upon it, was formerly discovered at Asciburgium. Mention is likewise made of certain monuments and tomb-stones, still to be seen on the confines of Germany and Rhætia, with epitaphs, or inscriptions, in Greek characters. But these assertions it is not my intention either to establish or to refute: the reader will yield, or withhold his assent, according to his judgment or his fancy.

IV. I HAVE already acceded to the opinion of those, who think that the Germans have hitherto subsisted without intermarrying with other nations, a pure, unmixed, and independent race, unlike any other people, all bearing the marks of a distinct national character. Hence, what is very remarkable in such prodigious numbers, a family-likeness throughout the nation; the same form and feature (*a*), stern blue eyes, ruddy hair, their bodies large and robust, but powerful only in sudden efforts. They are impatient of toil and labour; thirst and heat overcome them; but, from the nature of their soil and climate, they are proof against cold and hunger.

V. THE face of the country, though in some parts varied, presents a cheerless scene, covered with the gloom of forests, or deformed with wide extended marshes; towards the boundaries of Gaul, moist and swampy; on the side of Noricum (*a*) and Pannonia, more exposed to the fury of the winds. Vegetation thrives with sufficient vigour. The soil produces grain, but is unkind to fruit-trees (*b*); well stocked with cattle, but of an undersize, and deprived by nature of the usual growth and ornament.

ornament of the head. The pride of a German consists in the number of his flocks and herds: they are his only riches, and in these he places his chief delight. Gold and silver are withheld from them; is it by the favour or the wrath of Heaven? I do not, however, mean to assert (*c*) that in Germany there are no veins of precious ore; for who has been a miner in those regions? Certain it is, they do not enjoy the possession and use of those metals with our sensibility. There are, indeed, silver vessels to be seen amongst them, but they were presents to their chiefs or ambassadors; the Germans regard them in no better light than common earthen-ware. It is, however, observable, that near the borders of the empire, the inhabitants set a value upon gold and silver, finding them subservient to the purposes of commerce. The Roman coin is known in those parts, and some of our specie is not only current, but in request. In places more remote, the simplicity of ancient manners still prevails: commutation of property is their only traffic. Where money passes in the way of barter, our old coin is the most acceptable, particularly that which is indented at the edge, or stamped with the impression of a chariot and two horses, called the *SERRATI* and *BIGATI* (*d*). Silver is preferred to gold, not from caprice or fancy (*e*), but because the inferior metal is of more expeditious use in the purchase of low-priced commodities.

VI. IRON does not abound in Germany (*a*), if we may judge from the weapons in general use. Swords and large lances are seldom seen. The soldier grasps his javelin, or, as it is called in their language, his *FRAM*; an instrument tipped with a short and narrow piece of iron, sharply pointed, and so commodious, that as occasion requires, he can manage it in close engagement, or

in distant combat. With this, and a shield, the cavalry is completely armed. The infantry have an addition of missile weapons. Each man carries a considerable number, and, being naked, or, at least, not incumbered by his light mantle, he throws his weapon to a distance almost incredible. A German has no attention (*b*) to the ornament of his person: his shield is the object of his care, and this he decorates with the liveliest colours. Breast-plates are uncommon. In a whole army you will not see more than one or two helmets. Their horses have neither swiftness nor elegance of shape, nor are they trained to the various evolutions of the Roman cavalry (*c*). To advance in a direct line, or wheel suddenly to the right, is the whole of their skill, and this they perform in so compact a body, that not one is thrown out of his rank. According to the best estimate, the infantry form the national strength, and, for that reason, always fight intermixed with the cavalry (*d*). The flower of their youth, able by their vigour and activity to keep pace with the movements of the horse, are selected for this purpose, and placed in the front of the lines. The number of these is fixed and certain: each canton sends a hundred, from that circumstance called HUNDREDORS (*e*) by the army. The name was at first numerical only; it is now a title of honour. Their order of battle presents the form of a wedge (*f*). To give ground in the heat of action, provided you return to the charge, is military skill, not fear, or cowardice. In the most fierce and obstinate engagement, even when the fortune of the day is doubtful (*g*), they make it a point to carry off their slain. To abandon their shield is a flagitious crime. The person guilty of it is interdicted from religious rites, and excluded from the assembly of the state. Many, who survived their honour on the day of battle, have closed a life of ignominy by a halter.

VII. THE kings in Germany (*a*) owe their election to the nobility of their birth; the generals are chosen for their valour. The power of the former is not arbitrary or unlimited (*b*); the latter command more by warlike example, than by their authority. To be of a prompt and daring spirit in battle, and to attack in the front of the lines, is the popular character of the chieftain: when admired for his bravery, he is sure to be obeyed. Jurisdiction is vested in the priests. It is theirs to sit in judgment upon all offences. By them, delinquents are put in irons, and chastised with stripes. The power of punishing is in no other hands (*c*). When exerted by the priests, it has neither the air of vindictive justice, nor of military execution; it is rather a religious sentence, inflicted with the sanction of the god, who, according to the German creed, attends their armies on the day of battle. To impress on their minds the idea of a tutelar deity, they carry with them to the field certain images and banners, taken from their usual depository, the religious groves (*d*). A circumstance which greatly tends to inflame them with heroic ardour, is the manner in which their battalions are formed. They are neither mustered, nor embodied by chance. They fight in clans, united by consanguinity, a family of warriors. Their tenderest pledges (*e*) are near them in the field. In the heat of the engagement, the soldier hears the shrieks of his wife, and the cries of his children. These are the darling witnesses of his conduct, the applauders of his valour, at once beloved and valued. The wounded seek their mothers and their wives: undismayed at the sight, the women count each honourable scar, and suck the gushing blood. They are even hardy enough to mix with the combatants, administering refreshment, and exhorting them to deeds of valour.

VIII. FROM

VIII. FROM tradition, they have a variety of instances of armies put to the rout, and by the interposition of their wives and daughters again incited to renew the charge. Their women saw the ranks give way, and rushing forward in the instant, by the vehemence of their cries and supplications, by exposing (*a*) their breasts to danger, and by representing the horrors of slavery, restored the order of the battle. To a German mind the idea of a woman led into captivity is insupportable. In consequence of this prevailing sentiment, the states, which deliver as hostages the daughters of illustrious families, are bound by the most effectual obligation. There is, in their opinion, something sacred in the female sex (*b*), and even the power of foreseeing future events. Their advice is, therefore, always heard; they are frequently consulted, and their responses are deemed oracular. We have seen, in the reign of Vespasian, the famous Veleda (*c*) revered as a divinity by her countrymen. Before her time, Aurinia and others were held in equal veneration; but a veneration founded on sentiment and superstition, free from that servile adulation which pretends to people heaven with human deities.

IX. MERCURY is the god (*a*) chiefly adored in Germany. On stated days they think it lawful to offer to him human victims. They sacrifice to Hercules and Mars (*b*) such animals as are usually slain in honour of the gods. In some parts of the country of the Suevians, the worship of Isis (*c*) is established. To trace the introduction of ceremonies, which had their growth in another part of the world, were an investigation for which I have no materials: suffice it to say, that the figure of a ship (the symbolic representation of the goddess) clearly shews that the religion

religion was imported into the country. Their deities are not immured in temples, nor represented under any kind of resemblance to the human form. To do either were, in their opinion (*d*), to derogate from the majesty of superior beings. Woods and groves (*e*) are the sacred depositaries; and the spot being consecrated to those pious uses, they give to that sacred recess the name of the divinity that fills the place, which is never prophaned by the steps of man. The gloom fills every mind with awe; revered at a distance, and never seen but with the eye of contemplation.

X. THEIR attention to auguries, and the practice of divining by lots (*a*), is conducted with a degree of superstition not exceeded by any other nation. Their mode of proceeding by lots is wonderfully simple. The branch of a fruit-tree is cut into small pieces, which, being all distinctly marked, are thrown at random on a white garment. If a question of public interest be depending, the priest of the canton performs the ceremony; if it be nothing more than a private concern, the master of the family (*b*) officiates. With fervent prayers offered up to the gods, his eyes devoutly raised to heaven, he holds up three times each segment of the twig, and as the marks rise in succession, interprets the decrees of fate. If appearances prove unfavourable, there ends all consultation for that day: if, on the other hand, the chances are propitious, they require, for greater certainty, the sanction of auspices. The well known superstition, which in other countries consults the flight and notes of birds, is also established in Germany; but to receive intimations of future events from horses (*c*) is the peculiar credulity of the country. For this purpose a number of milk-white steeds, unprophaned by mortal labour, is constantly maintained at the public expence, and

and placed to pasture in the religious groves. When occasion requires, they are harnessed to a sacred chariot, and the priest, accompanied by the king, or chief of the state, attends to watch the motions and the neighing of the horses. No other mode of augury is received with such implicit faith by the people, the nobility, and the priesthood. The horses, upon these solemn occasions, are supposed to be the organs of the gods, and the priests their favoured interpreters. They have still another way of prying into futurity, to which they have recourse, when anxious to know the issue of an important war. They seize, by any means in their power, a captive (*d*) from the adverse nation, and commit him in single combat with a champion selected from their own army. Each is provided with weapons after the manner of his country, and the victory, wherever it falls, is deemed a sure prognostic of the event.

XI. IN matters of inferior moment the chiefs decide (*a*); important questions are reserved for the whole community. Yet even in those cases, where all have a voice, the business is discussed and prepared by the chiefs. The general assembly, if no sudden alarm calls the people together, has its fixed and stated periods, either at the new or full moon (*b*). This is thought the season most propitious to public affairs. Their account of time differs from that of the Romans: instead of days, they reckon the number of nights (*c*). Their public ordinances are so dated; and their proclamations run in the same style. The night, according to them, leads the day. Their passion for liberty is attended with this ill consequence: when a public meeting is announced, they never assemble at the stated time. Regularity would look like obedience: to mark their independent spirit, they do not convene at once, but two or three

three days are lost in delay. When they think themselves sufficiently numerous, the business begins. Each man takes his seat (*d*), completely armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who still retain their coercive authority. The king (*e*), or chief of the community, opens the debate: the rest are heard in their turn, according to age, nobility of descent, renown in war, or fame for eloquence. No man dictates to the assembly: he may persuade, but cannot command. When any thing is advanced not agreeable to the people, they reject it with a general murmur. If the proposition pleases, they brandish their javelins. This is their highest, and most honourable mark of applause: they assent in a military manner, and praise by the sound of their arms.

XII. IN this council of the state accusations are exhibited, and capital offences prosecuted. Pains and penalties are proportioned to the nature of the crime. For treason and desertion (*a*), the sentence is to be hanged on a tree: the coward, and such as are guilty of unnatural practices (*b*), are plunged under a hurdle into bogs and fens. In these different punishments the point and spirit of the law is, that crimes, which affect the state, may be exposed to public notoriety: infamous vice (*c*) cannot be too soon buried in oblivion. He, who is convicted of transgressions of an inferior nature (*d*), pays a mulct of horses, or of cattle. Part of that fine goes to the king (*e*), or the community, and part to the person injured, or to his family. It is in these assemblies that princes are chosen (*f*), and chiefs elected to act as magistrates in the several cantons of the state. To each of these judicial officers assistants are appointed from the body of the people, to the number of a hundred, who attend to give their advice, and strengthen the hands of justice.

be surpassed in valour by his COMPANIONS; and not to vie with him in martial deeds, is equally a reproach to his followers. If he dies in the field, he who survives him (*a*) survives to live in infamy. All are bound to defend their leader, to succour him in the heat of action, and to make even their own actions subservient to his renown. This is the bond of union, the most sacred obligation. The chief fights for victory; the followers for their chief. If, in the course of a long peace, the people relax into sloth and indolence, it often happens that the young nobles seek a more active life (*b*) in the service of other states engaged in war. The German mind cannot brook repose. The field of danger is the field of glory. Without violence and rapine a train of dependants cannot be maintained. The chief must shew his liberality, and the follower expects it. He demands (*c*) at one time this warlike horse, at another, that victorious lance imbrued with the blood of the enemy. The prince's table, however inelegant, must always be plentiful: it is the only pay of his followers. War and depredation are the ways and means of the chieftain. To cultivate the earth, and wait the regular produce of the seasons, is not the maxim of a German: you will more easily persuade him to attack the enemy, and provoke honourable wounds in the field of battle. In a word, to earn by the sweat of your brow, what you may gain by the price of your blood, is, in the opinion of a German, a sluggish principle, unworthy of a soldier.

XV. WHEN the state has no war to manage, the German mind is sunk in sloth. The chase (*a*) does not afford sufficient employment. The time is passed in sleep and gluttony. The intrepid warrior, who in the field braved every danger, becomes in time of peace a listless sluggard. The management of his

XIII. A German transacts no business, public or private, without being completely armed (*a*). The right of carrying arms is assumed by no person whatever, till the state has declared him duly qualified. The young candidate is introduced before the assembly, where one of the chiefs, or his father, or some near relation, provides him (*b*) with a shield and javelin. This, with them, is the manly gown (*c*): the youth from that moment ranks as a citizen: till then he was considered as part of the household: he is now a member of the commonwealth. In honour of illustrious birth, and to mark the sense men entertain of the father's merit, the son, though yet of tender years, is called to the dignity of a prince or chief. Such as are grown up to manhood, and have signalized themselves by a spirit of enterprise, have always a number of retainers in their train. Where merit is conspicuous, no man blushes to be seen in the list of followers, or companions (*d*). A clanship is formed in this manner, with degrees of rank and subordination. The chief judges the pretensions of all, and assigns to each man his proper station. A spirit of emulation prevails among his whole train, all struggling to be the first in favour, while the chief places all his glory in the number and intrepidity of his COMPANIONS. In that consists his dignity (*e*): to be surrounded by a band of young men is the source of his power; in peace, his brightest ornament; in war, his strongest bulwark. Nor is his fame confined to his own country; it extends to foreign nations, and is then of the first importance, if he surpasses his rivals in the number and courage of his followers. He receives presents from all parts; ambassadors are sent to him; and his name alone is often sufficient to decide the issue of a war.

XIV. In the field of action, it is disgraceful to the prince to
be

house and lands he leaves to the women, to the old men, and the infirm part of his family. He himself lounges in stupid repose, by a wonderful diversity of nature (*b*), exhibiting in the same man the most inert aversion to labour, and the fiercest principle of action. It is a custom established in the several states, to present a contribution of corn and cattle (*c*) to their chieftains. Individuals follow the example, and this bounty proves at once an honour to the prince, and his best support. Presents are also sent from the adjacent states, as well by private persons, as in the name of the community. Nothing is so flattering to the pride of the chiefs as those foreign favours, consisting of the best horses, magnificent armour, splendid harness (*d*), and beautiful collars. The Romans have lately taught them to receive presents of money (*e*).

XVI. THE Germans, it is well known, have no regular cities (*a*); nor do they allow a continuity of houses. They dwell in separate habitations, dispersed up and down, as a grove, a meadow, or a fountain happens to invite. They have villages, but not, in our fashion, with a series of connected buildings. Every tenement stands detached, with a vacant piece of ground round it (*b*), either to prevent accidents by fire, or for want of skill in the art of building. They neither know the use of mortar nor of tiles. They build with rude materials, regardless of beauty, order, and proportion. Particular parts are covered over with a kind of earth so smooth and shining, that the natural veins have some resemblance to the lights and shades of painting. Besides these habitations, they have a number of subterraneous caves (*c*), dug by their own labour, and carefully covered over with dung; in winter their retreat from cold, and the repository of their corn. In those recesses they not only find a shelter from
the

the rigour of the season, but in times of foreign invasion their effects are safely concealed. The enemy lays waste the open country, but the hidden treasure escapes the general ravage; safe in its obscurity, or because the search would be attended with too much trouble.

XVII. THE clothing in use is a loose mantle (*a*), made fast with a clasp, or, when that cannot be had, with a thorn. Naked in other respects, they loiter away whole days by the fire-side (*b*). The rich wear a garment, not, indeed, displayed and flowing, like the Parthians, or the people of Sarmatia, but drawn so tight, that the form of the limbs is palpably expressed (*c*). The skins of wild animals are also much in use. Near the frontier, on the borders of the Rhine, the inhabitants wear them, but with an air of neglect, that shews them altogether indifferent about the choice. The people, who live more remote, near the northern seas (*d*), and have not acquired by commerce a taste for new-fashioned apparel, are more curious in the selection. They choose particular beasts, and having stripped off the furs, clothe themselves with the spoil, decorated with party-coloured spots, or fragments taken from the skins of fish, that swim the ocean as yet unexplored by the Romans. In point of dress there is no distinction between the sexes, except that the garment of the women is frequently made of linen, adorned with purple stains, but without sleeves, leaving the arms and part of the bosom uncovered.

XVIII. MARRIAGE is considered as a strict and sacred institution (*a*). In the national character there is nothing so truly commendable. To be contented with one wife is peculiar to the Germans. They differ, in this respect, from all other savage nations. There are, indeed, a few instances of polygamy; not, however

instant, and inflicted (*c*) by the husband. He cuts off the hair of his guilty wife (*d*), and, having assembled her relations, expels her naked from his house, pursuing her with stripes through the village. To public loss of honour no favour is shewn. She may possess beauty, youth, and riches; but a husband she can never obtain. Vice is not treated by the Germans as a subject of raillery, nor is the profligacy of corrupting and being corrupted called the fashion of the age (*e*). By the practice of some states, female virtue is advanced to still higher perfection: with them none but virgins marry (*f*). When the bride has fixed her choice, her hopes of matrimony are closed for life. With one husband, as with one life, one mind, one body, every woman is satisfied: in him her happiness is centered; her desires extend no farther; and the principle is not only an affection for her husband's person, but a reverence for the married state (*g*). To set limits to population, by rearing up only a certain number of children, and destroying the rest (*h*), is accounted a flagitious crime. Among the savages of Germany virtuous manners operate more (*i*) than good laws in other countries.

XX. IN every family the children are reared up in filth (*a*). They run about naked, and in time grow up to that strength and size of limb which we behold with wonder. The infant is nourished at the mother's breast, not turned over to nurses and to servants. No distinction is made between the future chieftain and the infant son of a common slave. On the same ground, and mixed with the same cattle, they pass their days, till the age of manhood draws the line of separation (*b*), and early valour shews the person of ingenuous birth. It is generally late before their young men enjoy the pleasures of love (*c*); by consequence, they are not enfeebled in their prime. Nor are
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however, the effect of loose desire, but occasioned by the ambition of various families, who court the alliance of the chief distinguished by the nobility of his rank and character. The bride brings no portion ; she receives a dowry from her husband. In the presence of her parents and relations he makes a tender of part of his wealth : if accepted, the match is approved. In the choice of the presents, female vanity is not consulted. There are no frivolous trinkets to adorn the future bride. The whole fortune consists of oxen, a caparisoned horse, a shield, a spear, and a sword. She in return delivers a present of arms, and, by this exchange of gifts, the marriage is concluded. This is the nuptial ceremony, this the bond of union, these their hymeneal gods. Lest the wife should think her sex an exemption from the rigours of the severest virtue, and the toils of war, she is informed of her duty by the marriage ceremony, and thence she learns, that she is received by her husband to be his partner in toil and danger, to dare with him in war, and suffer with him in peace. The oxen yoked, the horse accoutred, and the arms given on the occasion, inculcate this lesson ; and thus she is prepared to live, and thus to die. These are the terms of their union : she receives her armour as a sacred treasure, to be preserved inviolate, and transmitted with honour to her sons (*b*), a portion for their wives, and from them descendible to her grand-children.

XIX. IN consequence of these manners, the married state is a life of affection and female constancy. The virtue of the woman is guarded from seduction : no public spectacles (*a*) to seduce her ; no banquets to inflame her passions ; no baits of pleasure to disarm her virtue. The art of intriguing by clandestine letters (*b*) is unknown to both sexes. Populous as the country is, adultery is rarely heard of : when detected, the punishment is
instant,

the virgins married too soon. Both parties wait to attain their full growth. In the warm season of mutual vigour (*d*) the match is made, and the children of the marriage have the constitution of their parents. The uncle by the mother's side regards his nephews with an affection nothing inferior to that of their father. With some, the relation of the sister's children to their maternal uncle (*e*) is held to be the strongest tie of consanguinity, inso-much that in demanding hostages, that line of kindred is preferred, as the most endearing objects of the family, and, consequently, the most tender pledges. The son (*f*) is always heir to his father. Last wills and testaments are not in use. In case of failure of issue, the brothers of the deceased are next in succession, or else the paternal or maternal uncles. A numerous train of relations is the comfort and the honour of old age. To live without raising heirs to yourself (*g*) is no advantage in Germany.

XXI. To adopt the quarrels as well as the friendships of your parents and relations (*a*), is held to be an indispensable duty. In their resentments, however, they are not implacable. Injuries are adjusted by a settled measure of compensation. Atonement is made for (*b*) homicide by a certain number of cattle, and by that satisfaction the whole family is appeased: a happy regulation, than which nothing can be more conducive to the public interest, since it serves to curb that spirit of revenge which is the natural result of liberty in the excess. Hospitality (*c*) and convivial pleasure are no where so liberally enjoyed. To refuse admittance to a guest were an outrage against humanity. The master of the house welcomes every stranger, and regales him to the best of his ability. If his stock falls short, he becomes a visitor to his neighbour, and conducts his new acquaintance to a more plentiful table. They do not wait to be invited, nor is it
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of any consequence, since a cordial reception is always certain. Between an intimate and an entire stranger no distinction is made. The law of hospitality is the same. The departing guest receives as a present whatever he desires, and the host retaliates by asking with the same freedom. A German delights in the gifts which he receives; yet by bestowing he imputes nothing to you as a favour, and for what he receives he acknowledges no obligation.

XXII. IN this manner the Germans pride themselves upon their frankness and generosity. Their hours of rest are protracted to broad day-light. As soon as they rise, the first thing they do is to bathe, and generally, on account of the intense severity of the climate, in warm water (*a*). They then betake themselves to their meal, each on a separate seat, and at his own table (*b*). Having finished their repast, they proceed completely armed to the dispatch of business, and frequently to a convivial meeting. To devote both day and night to deep drinking is a disgrace to no man. Disputes, as will be the case with people in liquor, frequently arise, and are seldom confined to opprobrious language. The quarrel generally ends in a scene of blood (*c*). Important subjects, such as the reconciliation of enemies, the forming of family alliances, the election of chiefs, and even peace and war (*d*), are generally canvassed in their carousing festivals. The convivial moment, according to their notion, is the true season for business, when the mind opens itself in plain simplicity, or grows warm with bold and noble ideas. Strangers to artifice, and knowing no refinement, they tell their sentiments without disguise. The pleasure of the table expands their hearts, and calls forth every secret. On the following day the subject of debate is again taken into consideration, and thus two different

periods of time have their distinct uses : when warm, they debate ; when cool, they decide.

XXIII. THEIR beverage is a liquor drawn from barley or from wheat, and, like the juice of the grape, fermented to a spirit (*a*). The settlers on the banks of the Rhine provide themselves with wine. Their food is of the simplest kind ; wild apples, the flesh of an animal recently killed, or coagulated milk (*b*). Without skill in cookery, and without seasoning to stimulate the palate (*c*), they eat to satisfy nature. But they do not drink merely to quench their thirst. Indulge their love of liquor to the excess which they require (*d*), and you need not employ the terror of your arms : their own vices will subdue them.

XXIV. THEIR public spectacles boast of no variety. They have but one sort, and that they repeat at all their meetings. A band of young men make it their pastime to dance entirely naked amidst pointed swords and javelins. By constant exercise this kind of exhibition is become an art, and art has taught them to perform with grace and elegance. Their talents, however, are not let out for hire (*a*). Though some danger attends the practice, the pleasure of the spectator is their only recompense. In the character of a German there is nothing so remarkable as his passion for play. Without the excuse of liquor (strange as it may seem!) in their cool and sober moments, they have recourse to dice (*b*), as to a serious and regular business, with the most desperate spirit committing their whole substance to chance, and when they have lost their all, putting their liberty and even their persons upon the last hazard of the dye. The loser yields himself to slavery. Young, robust, and valiant, he submits to be chained, and

and even exposed to sale. Such is the effect of a ruinous and inveterate habit. They are victims to folly, and they call themselves men of honour. The winner is always in a hurry to barter away the slaves acquired by success at play: he is ashamed of his victory, and therefore puts away the remembrance of it as soon as possible.

XXV. THE slaves in general are not arranged at their several employments in the household affairs, as is the practice at Rome. Each has his separate habitation, and his own establishment to manage. The master considers him as an agrarian dependant (*a*), who is obliged to furnish a certain quantity of grain, of cattle, or of wearing apparel. The slave obeys, and the state of servitude extends no further. All domestic affairs are managed by the master's wife and children. To punish a slave with stripes, to load him with chains, or condemn him to hard labour, is unusual. It is true, that slaves (*b*) are sometimes put to death, not under colour of justice, or of any authority vested in the master; but in a transport of passion, in a fit of rage, as is often the case in a sudden affray; but it is also true, that this species of homicide passes with impunity. The freedmen (*c*) are not of much higher consideration than the actual slaves; they obtain no rank in the master's family, and, if we except the parts of Germany where monarchy is established (*d*), they never figure on the stage of public business. In despotic governments they rise above the men of ingenuous birth, and even eclipse the whole body of the nobles (*e*). In other states the subordination of the freedmen is a proof of public liberty.

XXVI. THE practice of placing money at interest, and reaping the profits of usury (*a*), is unknown in Germany; and that

happy ignorance is a better prevention of the evil than a code of prohibitory laws. In cultivating the soil, they do not settle on one spot, but shift from place to place (*b*). The state or community takes possession of a certain tract proportioned to its number of hands; allotments are afterwards made to individuals according to their rank and dignity. In so extensive a country, where there is no want of land, the partition is easily made. The ground tilled in one year, lies fallow the next, and a sufficient quantity always remains, the labour of the people being by no means adequate to the extent or goodness of the soil. Nor have they the skill to make orchard-plantations, to inclose the meadow-grounds, or to lay out and water gardens. From the earth they demand nothing but corn. Hence their year is not, as with the Romans, divided into four seasons. They have distinct ideas of winter, spring, and summer, and their language has terms for each; but they neither know the blessings nor the name of autumn (*c*).

XXVII. THEIR funerals (*a*) have neither pomp nor vain ambition. When the bodies of illustrious men are to be burned, they choose a particular kind of wood for the purpose, and have no other attention. The funeral pile is neither strewed with garments, nor enriched with fragrant spices. The arms of the deceased are committed to the flames, and sometimes his horse (*b*). A mound of turf is raised to his memory, and this, in their opinion, is a better sepulchre than those structures of laboured grandeur, which display the weakness of human vanity, and are, at best, a burthen to the dead. Tears and lamentations are soon at an end, but their regret does not so easily wear away. To grieve for the departed is comely in the softer sex. The women weep for their friends (*c*); the men remember them.

XXVIII. THIS

XXVIII THIS is the sum of what I have been able to collect touching the origin of the Germans, and the general manners of the people. I now shall enter into a more minute description of the several states, their peculiar rites, and the distinctive character of each ; observing at the same time, which were the nations that first passed the Rhine, and transplanted themselves into Gaul. That the Gauls, in ancient times, were superior to the Germans (*a*), we have the authority of Julius Cæsar, that illustrious historian of his own affairs. From what is stated by that eminent writer, it is highly probable that colonies from Gaul passed over into Germany : for, in fact, how could a river check the migrations of either nation, when it increased in strength, and multiplied its numbers ? So weak an obstacle could not repel them from taking possession of a country, not as yet marked out by power, and of course open to the first occupant. We find, accordingly, that the whole region between the Hercynian forest (*b*), the Maine and the Rhine was occupied by the Helvetians, and the tract beyond it by the Boians (*c*) ; both originally Gallic nations. The name of BOIEMUM, which remains to this day, shews the ancient state of the country, though it has since received a new race of inhabitants. Whether the Araviscians (*d*), who settled in Pannonia, were originally a colony from the Osi, a people of Germany ; or, on the other hand, whether the Osi overflowed into Germany from the Araviscians, cannot now be ascertained. Thus much is certain, the laws, the manners, and language of both nations are still the same. But which of them first passed the Danube ? The same good and evil were to be found on both sides of the river ; equal poverty and equal independance. To be thought of German origin is the ambition of the Treverians (*e*) and the Nervians, both conceiving, that the reproach of Gallic softness and effeminacy, which

which still infect their national manners, may be lost in the splendour of a warlike descent. The Vangiones (*f*), the Tribocians, and the Nemetes, who stretch along the banks of the Rhine, are, beyond all doubt, of German extraction. The Ubians (*g*), for their services, were made a Roman colony, and, with their own consent, became known by the name of AGRIPPINIANS, in honour of their founder; and yet they still look back with pride to their German origin. They issued formerly from that country, and having given proof of their fidelity, obtained an allotment of territory on the banks of the Rhine, not so much with a view to their security, as to make them a guard to defend the Roman frontier.

XXIX. OF all these various nations the Batavians (*a*) are the most brave and warlike. Incorporated formerly with the Catians, but driven out by intestine divisions, they took possession of an island, formed by the river Nile, where, without any extent of land on the continent, they established a canton in alliance with the Romans. The honour of that ancient friendship they still enjoy, with the addition of peculiar privileges. They are neither insulted with taxes, nor harassed by revenue officers. Free from burthens, imposts, and tributes, they are reserved for the day of battle; a nursery of soldiers. The Mattiaci (*b*) are in like manner attached to the interest of the Romans. In fact, the limits of the empire have been enlarged, and the terror of our arms has spread beyond the Rhine and the former boundaries. Hence the Mattiaci, still enjoying their own side of the river, are Germans by their situation, yet in sentiment and principle the friends of Rome; submitting, like the Batavians, to the authority of the empire; but, never having been transplanted, they still retain, from their soil and climate, all the fierceness of their native

native character. The people between the Rhine and the Danube, who occupy a certain tract, subject to an impost of one tenth, and therefore called the Decumate Lands (*c*), are not to be reckoned among the German nations. The Gauls, from their natural levity prone to change, and rendered desperate by their poverty, were the first adventurers into that vacant region. The Roman frontier, in process of time, being advanced, and garri-sons stationed at proper posts, that whole country became part of a province, and the inhabitants of course were reduced to subjection.

XXX. BEYOND the Mattiaci lies the territory of the Cattians (*a*), beginning at the Hercynian forest, but not, like other parts of Germany, a wide and dreary level of fens and marshes. A continued range of hills extends over a prodigious tract, till growing thinner by degrees they sink at last into an open country. The Hercynian forest attends its favourite Cattians to their utmost boundary, and there leaves them, as it were, with regret. The people are robust and hardy; their limbs well braced (*b*); their countenance fierce, and their minds endowed with vigour beyond the rest of their countrymen. Considered as Germans, their understanding is quick and penetrating. They elect officers fit to command, and obey them implicitly; they keep their ranks, and know how to seize their opportunity; they restrain their natural impetuosity, and wait for the attack; they arrange with judgment the labours of the day, and throw up entrenchments for the night; trusting little to fortune, they depend altogether on their valour; and, what is rare in the history of Barbarians, and never attained without regular discipline, they place their confidence, not in the strength of their armies, but entirely in their general (*c*). The infantry is their main strength. Each
soldier

foldier carries, besides his arms, his provision and a parcel of military tools. You may see other armies rushing to a battle: the Cattians march to a war. To skirmish in detached parties, or to fall out on a sudden emergence, is not their practice. A victory hastily gained, or a quick retreat, may suit the genius of the cavalry; but all that rapidity, in the opinion of the Cattians, denotes want of resolution: perseverance is the true mark of courage.

XXXI. A custom, known, indeed, in other parts of Germany, but adopted only by a few individuals of a bold and ardent spirit, is with the Cattians a feature of the national character. From the age of manhood they encourage the growth of their hair and beard (*a*); nor will any one, till he has slain an enemy, divest himself of that excrescence, which by a solemn vow he has devoted to heroic virtue. Over the blood and spoils of the vanquished the face of the warrior is, for the first time, displayed. The Cattian then exults; he has now answered the true end of his being, and has proved himself worthy of his parents and his country. The sluggard continues unshorn, with the uncouth horrors of his visage growing wilder to the close of his days. The men of superior courage and uncommon ferocity wear also an iron-ring (*b*), in that country a badge of infamy, and with that, as with a chain, they appear self-condemned to slavery, till by the slaughter of an enemy they have redeemed their freedom. With this extraordinary habit the Cattians are in general much delighted. They grow grey under a vow of heroism, and by their voluntary distinctions render themselves conspicuous to their friends and enemies. In every engagement the first attack is made by them: they claim the front of the line as their right, presenting to the enemy an appearance wild and terrible. | Even
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in time of peace they retain the same ferocious aspect; never softened with an air of humanity. They have no house to dwell in, no land to cultivate, no domestic care to employ them. Wherever chance conducts them, they are sure of being maintained. Lavish of their neighbours substance, and prodigal of their own, they persist in this course, till towards the decline of life their drooping spirit is no longer equal to the exertions of a fierce and rigid virtue.

XXXII. THE Usipians and Tencterians (*a*) border on the Cattians. Their territory lies on the banks of the Rhine, where that river, still flowing in one regular channel, forms a sufficient boundary. In addition to their military character the Tencterians are famous for the discipline of their cavalry. Their horse is no way inferior to the infantry of the Cattians. The wisdom of their ancestors formed the military system, and their descendants hold it in veneration. Horsemanship is the pride of the whole country, the pastime of their children, the emulation of their youth, and the habit of old age. With their goods and valuable effects their horses pass as part of the succession, not, however, by the general rule of inheritance to the eldest son, but, in a peculiar line, to that son who stands distinguished by his valour and his exploits in war.

XXXIII. In the neighbourhood of the last-mentioned states formerly occurred the Bructerians (*a*), since that time dispossessed of their territory, and, as fame reports, now no longer a people. The Chamavians and Angrivarians (*b*), it is said, with the consent of the adjacent tribes, invaded the country, and pursued the ancient settlers with exterminating fury. The intolerable pride of the Bructerians drew upon them this dreadful catastrophe.

The love of plunder was, no doubt, a powerful motive; and, perhaps, the event was providentially ordained in favour of the Roman people. Certain it is, the gods have of late indulged us with the view of a fierce engagement, and a scene of carnage, in which above sixty thousand of the enemy fell a sacrifice, not to the arms of Rome, but, more magnificent still! to the rage of their own internal discord, all cut off, as it were in a theatre of war, to furnish a spectacle to the Roman army. May this continue to be the fate of foreign nations! If not the friends of Rome, let them be enemies to themselves. For in the present tide of our affairs, what can fortune have in store so devoutly to be wished for as civil dissension amongst our enemies?

XXXIV. AT the back of the states, which I have now described, lie the Dulgibinians (*a*) and the Chafuarians, with other nations of inferior note. In front occurs the country of the Frisians (*b*), divided into two communities, called, on account of their degrees of strength, the Greater and the Lesser Frisia. Both extend along the margin of the Rhine as far as the Ocean, inclosing within their limits lakes of vast extent (*c*), where the fleets of Rome have spread their sails. Through that outlet we have attempted the Northern Ocean, where, if we may believe the account of navigators, the pillars of Hercules are seen still standing on the coast; whether it be, that Hercules did in fact visit those parts, or that whatever is great and splendid in all quarters of the globe is, by common consent, ascribed to that ancient hero. Drusus Germanicus was an adventurer in those seas (*a*). He did not want a spirit of enterprise; but the navigation was found impracticable in that tempestuous ocean, which seemed to forbid any further discovery of its own element, or the labours of Hercules. Since that time no expedition has been undertaken:

undertaken: men conceived that to respect the mysteries of the gods, and believe without enquiry, would be the best proof of veneration (*e*).

XXXV. We have hitherto traced the western side of Germany. From the point, where we stopt, it stretches away with a prodigious sweep towards the north. In this vast region the first territory that occurs is that of the Chaucians (*a*), beginning on the confines of the Frisians, and, though at the extremity bounded by the sea-shore, yet running at the back of all the nations already described, till, with an immense compass, it reaches the borders of the Cattians. Of this immeasurable tract it is not sufficient to say that the Chaucians possess it: they even people it. Of all the German nations they are, beyond all question, the most respectable. Their grandeur rests upon the surest foundation, the love of justice; wanting no extension of territory, free from avarice and ambition, remote and happy, they provoke no wars, and never seek to enrich themselves by rapine and depredation. Their importance among the nations round them is undoubtedly great; but the best evidence of it is, that they have gained nothing by injustice. Loving moderation, yet uniting to it a warlike spirit, they are ever ready in a just cause to unsheathe the sword. Their armies are soon in the field (*b*). In men and horses their resources are great, and even in profound tranquillity their fame is never tarnished.

XXXVI. BORDERING on the side of the Chaucians, and also of the Cattians, lies the country of the Cheruscans (*a*); a people by a long disuse of arms enervated and sunk in sloth. Unmolested by their neighbours, they enjoyed the sweets of peace, forgetting that amidst powerful and ambitious neighbours the

repose, which you enjoy, serves only to lull you into a calm, always pleasing, but deceitful in the end. When the sword is drawn, and the power of the strongest is to decide, you talk in vain of equity and moderation : those virtues always belong to the conqueror. Thus it has happened to the Cherusians : they were formerly just and upright ; at present they are called fools and cowards. Victory has transferred every virtue to the Cattiars, and oppression takes the name of wisdom. The downfall of the Cherusians drew after it that of the Fosi (*b*), a contiguous nation, in their day of prosperity never equal to their neighbours, but fellow-sufferers in their ruin.

XXXVII. IN the same northern part of Germany we find the Cimbrians (*a*) on the margin of the ocean ; a people at present of small consideration, though their glory can never die. Monuments of their former strength and importance are still to be seen on either shore. Their camps and lines of circumvallation are not yet erased. From the extent of ground which they occupied you may even now form an estimate of the force and resources of the state, and the account of their grand army, which consisted of such prodigious numbers, seems to be verified. It was in the year of Rome six hundred and forty, in the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo, that the arms of the Cimbrians first alarmed the world. If from that period we reckon to the second consulship of the emperor Trajan, we shall find a space of near two hundred and ten years : so long has Germany stood at bay with Rome ! In the course of so obstinate a struggle, both sides have felt alternately the severest blows of fortune, and the worst calamities of war. Not the Samnite, nor the republic of Carthage, nor Spain, nor Gaul, nor even the Parthian has given such frequent lessons to the Roman people.

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The power of the Arfacidæ (*b*) was not so formidable as German liberty. If we except the slaughter of Crassus and his army, what has the east to boast of? Their own commander, Pacorus, was cut off, and the whole nation was humbled by the victory of Ventidius. The Germans can recount their triumphs over Carbo, Cassius (*c*), Scaurus Aurelius, Servilius Cæpio, and Cneius Manlius (*d*), all defeated, or taken prisoners. With them the republic lost five consular armies; and since that time, in the reign of Augustus, Varus perished with his three legions. Caius Marius (*e*), it is true, defeated the Germans in Italy; Julius Cæsar made them retreat from Gaul; and Drusus, Tiberius and Germanicus overpowered them in their own country: but how much blood did those victories cost us? The mighty projects of Caligula ended in a ridiculous farce. From that period an interval of peace succeeded, till roused at length by the dissensions of Rome, and the civil wars that followed, they stormed our legions in their winter-quarters (*f*), and even planned the conquest of Gaul. Indeed we forced them to repass the Rhine; but from that time what has been our advantage? We have triumphed, and Germany is still unconquered.

XXXVIII. THE Suevians (*a*) are the next that claim attention. Possessing the largest portion of Germany, they do not, like the Cattians and Tencterians, form one state or community, but have among themselves several subdivisions, or inferior tribes, known by distinct appellations, yet all comprehended under the general name of Suevians. It is the peculiar custom of this people to braid the hair, and tie it up in a knot (*b*). Between them and the rest of the Germans this is the mark of distinction. In their own country it serves to discriminate the free-born from the slave. If the same mode is seen in other states, introduced by

by ties of consanguinity, or, as often happens, by the propensity of men to imitate foreign manners, the instances are rare, and confined entirely to the season of youth. With the Suevians the custom is continued through life: men far advanced in years are seen with their hoary locks interwoven, and fastened behind, or sometimes gathered into a shaggy knot on the crown of the head. The chiefs are more nicely adjusted: they attend to ornament, but it is a manly attention, not the spirit of intrigue or the affectation of appearing amiable in the eyes of women. When going to engage the enemy, they fancy that from the high structure of their hair they appear taller and gain an air of ferocity. Their dress is a preparation for battle.

XXXIX. THE Semnones (*a*) are ambitious to be thought the most ancient and respectable of the Suevian nation. Their claim they think confirmed by the mysteries of religion. On a stated day a procession is made into a wood consecrated in ancient times, and rendered awful by auguries delivered down from age to age. The several tribes of the same descent appear by their deputies. The rites begin with the slaughter of a man, who is offered as a victim, and thus their barbarous worship is celebrated by an act of horror. The grove is beheld with superstitious terror. No man enters that holy sanctuary without being bound with a chain, thereby denoting his humble sense of his own condition, and the superior attributes of the deity that fills the place. Should he happen to fall, he does not presume to rise, but in that groveling state makes his way out of the wood. The doctrine intended by this bigotry is, that from this spot the whole nation derives its origin, and that here is the sacred mansion of the all-ruling mind, the supreme God of the universe (*b*), who holds every thing else in a chain of dependance on his will and pleasure. To these

these tenets much credit arises from the weight and influence of the Semnones, a populous nation, distributed into a hundred cantons, and by the vast extent of their territory entitled to consider themselves as the head of the Suevian nation.

XL. THE Langobards (*a*) exhibit a contrast to the people last described. Their dignity is derived from the paucity of their numbers. Surrounded as they are by great and powerful nations, they live independant, owing their security not to mean compliances, but to that warlike spirit with which they encounter danger. To these succeed in regular order the Reudigians (*b*), the Aviones, Angles, and Varinians; the Eudofians, Nuithones, and Suardonians, all defended by rivers, or embosomed in forests. In these several tribes there is nothing that merits attention, except that they all agree to worship the goddess Earth, or as they call her Herth (*c*), whom they consider as the common mother of all. This divinity, according to their notion, interposes in human affairs, and, at times, visits the several nations of the globe. A sacred grove on an island (*d*) in the Northern Ocean is dedicated to her. There stands her sacred chariot, covered with a vestment, to be touched by the priest only. When she takes her seat in this holy vehicle, he becomes immediately conscious of her presence, and in his fit of enthusiasm pursues her progress. The chariot is drawn by cows yoked together. A general festival takes place, and public rejoicings are heard, wherever the goddess directs her way. No war is thought of; arms are laid aside, and the sword is sheathed. The sweets of peace are known, and then only relished. At length the same priest declares the goddess satisfied with her visitation, and re-conducts her to her sanctuary. The chariot with the sacred mantle, and, if we may believe report, the goddess herself, are purified in
a secret

a secret lake. In this ablution certain slaves officiate, and instantly perish in the water. Hence the terrors of superstition are more widely diffused; a religious horror seizes every mind, and all are content in pious ignorance to venerate that awful mystery, which no man can see, and live. This part of the Suevian nation stretches away to the most remote and unknown recesses of Germany.

XLI. ON the banks of the Danube (for we shall now pursue that river, in the same manner as we have traced the course of the Rhine), the first and nearest state is that of the Hermundurians (*a*), a people in alliance with Rome, acting always with fidelity, and for that reason allowed to trade not only on the frontier, but even within the limits of the empire. They are seen at large in the heart of our splendid colony in the province of Rhætia, without so much as a guard to watch their motions. To the rest of the Germans we display camps and legions, but to the Hermundurians we grant the exclusive privilege of seeing our houses and our elegant villas. They behold the splendour of the Romans, but without avarice, or a wish to enjoy it. In the territories of these people the Elb takes its rise (*b*), a celebrated river, and formerly well known to the Romans. At present we only hear of its name.

XLII. Contiguous to the last mentioned people lies the country of the Nariscans (*a*), and next in order the Marcomannians (*b*) and the Quadians. Of these the Marcomannians are the most eminent for their strength and military glory. The very territory now in their possession is the reward of valour, acquired by the expulsion of the Boians. Nor have the Nariscans or Quadians degenerated from their ancestors. As far as Germany is washed by the Danube, these three nations extend along the banks,

banks, and form the frontier of the country. The Marcomannians and the Quadians, within our own memory, obeyed a race of kings, born among themselves, the illustrious issue of Maroboduus (*c*) and of Tudrus. Foreign princes at present sway the sceptre ; but the strength of their monarchy (*d*) depends upon the countenance and protection of Rome. To our arms they are not often indebted : we choose rather to supply them with money.

XLIII. AT the back of the Marcomannians and Quadians lie several nations of considerable force, such as the Marfignians (*a*), the Gothinians, the Osians, and the Burians. In dress and language the two last resemble the Suevians. The Gothinians, by their use of the Gallic tongue, and the Osians by the dialect of Pannonia, are evidently not of German original. A further proof arises from their submitting to the disgrace of paying tribute, imposed upon them as aliens and intruders, partly by the Sarmatians, and partly by the Quadians. The Gothinians have still more reason to blush ; they submit (*b*) to the drudgery of digging iron in the mines. But a small part of the open and level country is occupied by these several nations : they dwell chiefly in forests, or on the summit of that continued ridge of mountains (*c*), by which Suevia is divided and separated from other tribes that lie still more remote. Of these the Lygians (*d*) are the most powerful, stretching to a great extent, and giving their name to a number of subordinate communities. It will suffice to mention the most considerable ; namely the (*e*) Arians, the Helvecones, the Manimians, the Elysians, and Naharvalians. The last shew a grove famous for the antiquity of its religious rites. The priest appears in a female dress. The gods whom they worship are, in the language of the country, known by

the name of Alcis, by Roman interpreters said to be *Cæstor* and *Pollux* (*f*). There are, indeed, no idols in their country; no symbolic representation; no traces of foreign superstition. And yet their two deities are adored in the character of young men and brothers. The Arians are not only superior to the other tribes above-mentioned, but are also more fierce and savage. Not content with their natural ferocity, they study to make themselves still more grim and horrible by every addition that art can devise. Their shields are black; their bodies painted of a deep colour (*g*); and the darkest night is their time for rushing to battle. The sudden surprise and funereal gloom of such a band of sable warriors are sure to strike a panic through the adverse army, who fly the field, as if a legion of demons had broke loose to attack them: so true it is that in every engagement the eye is first conquered. Beyond the Lygians the next state is that of the Gothones (*b*), who live under regal government, and are, by consequence, ruled with a degree of power more rigorous than other parts of Germany, yet not unlimited, nor entirely hostile to civil liberty. In the neighbourhood of these people we find, on the sea-coast, the Rugians and Lemovians (*i*), both subject to royal authority. When their round shields and short swords are mentioned, there are no other particulars worthy of notice.

XLIV. THE people that next occur are the Suiones (*a*), who may be said to inhabit the ocean itself. In addition to the strength of their armies, they have a powerful naval force (*b*). The form of their ships is peculiar. Every vessel has a prow at each end, and by that contrivance is always ready to make head either way. Sails are not in use, nor is there a range of oars at the sides. The mariners, as often happens in the navigation of rivers, take different

ferent stations, and shift from one place to another, as the exigence may require. Riches are by this people held in great esteem (*c*); and the public mind, debased by that passion, yields to the government of one, with unconditional, with passive obedience. Despotism is here fully established. The people are not allowed to carry arms in common, like the rest of the German nations. An officer is appointed to keep in a magazine all the military weapons, and for this purpose a slave is always chosen. For this policy the ostensible reason is, that the ocean is their natural fence against foreign invasions, and in time of peace the giddy multitude, with arms ready at hand, soon proceeds from luxury to tumult and commotion. But the truth is, the jealousy of a despotic prince does not think it safe to commit the care of his arsenal to the nobles, or the men of ingenuous birth. Even a manumitted slave is not fit to be trusted.

XLV. AT the further extremity beyond the Suiones there is another sea (*a*), whose sluggish waters seem to be in a state of stagnation. By this lazy element the globe is said to be encircled, and the supposition receives some colour of probability from an extraordinary phænomenon well known in those regions. The rays of the setting sun (*b*) continue, till the return of day, to brighten the hemisphere with so clear a light, that the stars are imperceptible. To this it is added by vulgar credulity, that when the sun begins to rise, the sound of the emerging luminary is distinctly heard, and the very form of the horses, with the blaze of glory round the head of the god, is palpable to the sight. The boundaries of nature, it is generally believed, terminate here (*c*).

On the coast to the right of the Suevian ocean (*d*) the Æsty-

ans have fixed their habitation. In their dress and manners they resemble the Suevians, but their language has more affinity to the dialect of Britain. They worship the mother of the gods (*d*). The figure of a wild boar is the symbol of their superstition; and he, who has that emblem about him, thinks himself secure even in the thickest ranks of the enemy, without any need of arms, or any other mode of defence. The use of iron is unknown, and their general weapon is a club. In the cultivation of corn, and other fruits of the earth, they labour with more patience than is consistent with the natural laziness of the Germans. Their industry is exerted in another instance: they explore the sea for amber, in their language called GLESE (*e*), and are the only people who gather that curious substance. It is generally found among the shallows; sometimes on the shore. Concerning the nature or the causes of this concretion, the barbarians, with their usual want of curiosity, make no enquiry. Amongst other superfluities discharged by the sea, this substance lay long neglected, till Roman luxury gave it a name, and brought it into request. To the savages it is of no use. They gather it in rude heaps, and offer it to sale without any form or polish, wondering at the price they receive for it. There is reason to think that amber is a distillation from certain trees (*f*), since in the transparent medium we see a variety of insects, and even animals of the wing, which, being caught in the viscous fluid, are afterwards, when it grows hard, incorporated with it. It is probable, therefore, that as the east has its luxuriant plantations, where balm and frankincense perspire through the pores of trees, so the continents and islands of the west have their prolific groves, whose juices, fermented by the heat of the sun, dissolve into a liquid matter, which falls into the sea, and, being there condensed, is afterwards discharged by the winds and waves on the opposite shore.

shore. If you make an experiment of amber by the application of fire, it kindles like a torch, emitting a fragrant flame, and, in a little time, taking the tenacious nature of pitch or rosin. Beyond the Suiones we next find the nation of Sitones (*g*), differing in nothing from the former, except the tameness, with which they suffer a woman to reign over them. Of this people it is not enough to say that they have degenerated from civil liberty: they are sunk below slavery itself. At this place ends the territory of the Suevians.

XLVI. WHETHER the Peucinians (*a*), the Venedians, and Fennians are to be accounted Germans, or classed with the people of Sarmatia (*b*), is a point not easy to be determined: though the Peucinians, called by some the Bastarnians, bear a strong resemblance to the Germans. They use the same language: their dress and habitations are the same, and they are equally inured to sloth and filth. Of late, however, in consequence of frequent intermarriages between their leading chieftains and the families of Sarmatia, they have been tainted with the manners of that country. The Venedians are a counterpart of the Sarmatians: like them they lead a wandering life, and support themselves by plunder amidst the woods and mountains, that separate the Peucinians and the Fennians. They are, notwithstanding, to be ascribed to Germany, inasmuch as they have settled habitations, know the use of shields, and travel always on foot, remarkable for their swiftness. The Sarmatians, on the contrary, live altogether on horseback or in waggon. Nothing can equal the ferocity of the Fennians (*c*), nor is there any thing so disgusting as their filth and poverty. Without arms, without horses, and without a fixed place of abode, they lead a vagrant life; their food the common herbage;
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the skins of beasts their only clothing ; and the bare earth their resting-place. For their chief support they depend on their arrows, to which, for want of iron, they prefix a pointed bone. The women follow the chase in company with the men, and claim their share of the prey. To protect their infants from the fury of wild beasts, and the inclemency of the weather, they make a kind of cradle amidst the branches of trees interwoven together, and they know no other expedient. The youth of the country have the same habitation, and amidst the trees old age is rocked to rest. Savage as this way of life may seem, they prefer it to the drudgery of the field, the labour of building, and the painful vicissitudes of hope and fear, which always attend the defence and the acquisition of property. Secure against the passions of men, and fearing nothing from the anger of the gods, they have attained that uncommon state of felicity, in which there is no craving left to form a single wish (*d*).

The rest of what I have been able to collect is too much involved in fable, of a colour with the accounts of the Hellusians and the Oxionians, of whom we are told, that they have the human face, with the limbs and bodies of wild beasts. But reports of this kind, unsupported by proof, I shall leave to the pen of others.

THE END.

THE

L I F E

OF

CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA.

C O N T E N T S.

- I. *THE use and practice of biography to record the lives of eminent men.* II. *The custom dangerous under tyrannic power.* III. *Liberty of sentiment under the reign of Trajan.* IV. *Birth and parentage of Agricola: his education, and studies of his youth.* V. *He learns the military art in Britain.* VI. *He marries advantageously, and obtains the quæstorship; is made tribune of the people, and also prætor.* VII. *His mother murdered in Liguria by Otho's soldiers. Vespasian aspires to the empire: Agricola declares on his side. He is sent by Mucianus to command the twentieth legion then in Britain. His modest conduct advances his reputation.* IX. *He returns to Rome; is raised by Vespasian to the patrician rank, and made governor of Aquitania. He rises to the consulship, and gives his daughter in marriage to Tacitus; is appointed governor of Britain.* X. *Description of Britain.* XI. *Origin of the inhabitants, their institutions, religious rites, and manners.* XII. *Their military strength, and manner of fighting in armed chariots. The soil, the climate, precious metals, and pearl-fishery.* XIII. *Temper of the Britons since vanquished by the Romans. Expedition of Julius Cæsar, and the other emperors.* XIV. *The several consular governors of Britain in regular succession; Aulus Plautius, Ostorius Scapula; Aulus Didius Gallus, Veranius, Suetonius Paulinus.* XV. *Complaints and discontents of the Britons.* XVI. *General revolt under the conduct of Boadicea. Paulinus returns from*

from his expedition against the Isle of Mona, and conquers Boadicea. Trebellius Maximus appointed governor of Britain. He is succeeded by Vettius Bolanus. XVII. Able general sent into Britain by Vespasian. Petilius Cerealis commands with success, and after him Julius Frontinus. XVIII. Agricola appointed governor. He subdues the Ordovicians, and marches to complete the reduction of the isle of Mona. XIX. He begins a reformation in Britain, by introducing literature and the arts of civilization. The Britons reconciled to Roman manners. XXII. Agricola pushes his conquests in the northern part of the island, and penetrates as far as the Firth of Tay. XXIII. Forts and garrisons established to secure the country newly discovered. XXIV. Agricola pushes his conquests to the western coast opposite to Ireland. He receives a petty king of that country under his protection, and is told that the island may be conquered by a single legion. XXV. Agricola explores the country beyond the firth of Bodotria, and sends his fleet to annoy the coast. XXVI. The Caledonians attack the ninth legion by surprise in the night. Agricola comes to the assistance of the legion: the Britons put to the rout; but soon after resume their courage, and form a general league against the Romans. XXVIII. A cohort of the Usipians, levied in Germany, in a bold adventure sail round the northern part of the island. XXIX. Galgacus prepares to encounter the Romans, and takes post on the Grampian hill. XXX. His admirable speech to his army. XXXIII. Agricola harangues his men. XXXV. A fierce and bloody battle. XXXVIII. The Romans gain a complete victory. Agricola orders his fleet to sail round the whole island. XXXIX. Domitian receives an account of Agricola's operations with pretended joy, and dissembled uneasiness. XL. He grants triumphal ornaments and a statue to Agricola, but resolves to recall him from the command in Britain. Agricola returns to Rome, and meets with a cold reception

from the emperor. His prudent plan of life. XLI. The emperor and his courtiers hostile to virtue. XLII. Agricola entitled by lot to the government of Asia or Africa; but Domitian by his emissaries contrives to dissuade him, and receives thanks for excusing him. XLIII. The death of Agricola. XLIV. His age, his form and stature, and his public dignities. XLV. His loss the less to be regretted, as he escaped the horrid cruelties of Domitian, and the murder of the best men in Rome. The beautiful and pathetic sentiments with which Tacitus concludes.

The life of Agricola was written,

Year of Rome.	of Christ.	Consuls.
850	97	Nerva, emperor, 3d time.
850	97	Verginius Rufus.

THE
L I F E
OF
CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA.

I. **T**O transmit, to posterity the lives and characters of illustrious men, was an office frequently performed in ancient times. Even in the present age, incurious as it is about its own concerns (*a*), the same good custom has prevailed, whenever a great and splendid virtue has been able to surmount those two pernicious vices (*b*), which not only infect small communities, but are likewise the bane of large and flourishing cities ; I mean the vices of insensibility to merit, on the one hand, and envy on the other. With regard to the usage of antiquity, it is further observable, that, in those early seasons of virtue, men were led by the impulse of a generous spirit to a course of action worthy of being recorded ; and, in like manner,

the writer of genius undertook to perpetuate the memory of honourable deeds, without any motives of flattery, and without views of private ambition, influenced only by the conscious pleasure of doing justice to departed merit. Many have been their own historians (*c*), persuaded that in speaking of themselves they should display an honest confidence in their morals, not a spirit of arrogance or vain glory. Rutilius (*d*) and Scaurus left an account of their own lives, and the integrity of the narrative has never been called in question ; so true it is, that the age, which is most fertile in bright examples, is the best qualified to make a fair estimate of them. For the present undertaking, which professes to review the life of a great man now no more, I judged it necessary to premise an apology, led as I am, by the nature of my subject, to encounter an evil period (*e*), in which every virtue struggled with adversity and oppression.

II. WE have it upon record, that Arulenus Rusticus (*a*), for the panegyric of Pætus Thrasea, and Herennius Senecio (*b*), for that of Helvidius Priscus, were both capitally convicted. Nor was it enough that those excellent authors fell a sacrifice to the tyrant's power : persecution raged against their books, and, by an order to the triumvirs, in the forum and the place of popular convention the monuments of genius perished in the flames. The policy of the times, no doubt, intended that in the same fire the voice of the Roman people should be stifled, the freedom of the senate destroyed, and the sentiments of the human heart (*c*) suppressed for ever. To complete the work, all sound philosophy was proscribed, every liberal art was driven into banishment, and nothing fair and honourable was suffered to remain. Of our passive temper we gave ample proof ; and as former times had tasted of liberty even to a degree of licentiousness, so we exhausted

exhausted the bitter cup of slavery to the very dregs. Restrained by the terrors of a merciless inquisition from the commerce of hearing and speaking, and, by consequence, deprived of all exchange of sentiment, we should have resigned our memory with our other faculties, if to forget had been as easy as to submit in silence (*d*).

III. AT length, indeed, we begin to revive from our lethargy; but we revive by slow degrees, though the emperor Nerva (*a*), in the beginning of this glorious æra, found means to reconcile two things, till then deemed incompatible; namely, civil liberty and the prerogative of the prince; though his successor Trajan continues to heal our wounds, and by a just and wise administration to diffuse the blessings of peace and good order through every part of the empire; and though it is apparent, that hopes of the constitution are now conceived by all orders of men, and not only conceived, but rising every hour into confidence and public security (*b*). And yet, such is the infirmity of the human mind, that, even in this juncture, the remedy operates more slowly than the disease. For as the body natural is tardy in its growth, and rapid in decay, so the powers of genius are more easily extinguished than promoted to their full maturity. There is a charm in indolence that works by imperceptible degrees; and that listless inactivity, which at first is irksome, grows delightful in the end.

Need I mention that in the course of fifteen years (*c*), a large portion of human life! many fell by unavoidable accidents, and the most illustrious men in Rome were cut off by the insatiate cruelty of the prince? A few of us, it is true, have survived the slaughter of our fellow citizens; I had almost said, we have survived

vived ourselves ; for in that chafin, which slavery made in our existence, we cannot be said to have lived, but rather to have crawled in silence, the young towards the decrepitude of age, and the old to dishonourable graves. And yet I shall not regret the time I have spent in reviewing those days of despotism ; on the contrary, it is my intention, even in such weak colouring as mine, to give a memorial of our slavery (*d*), that it may stand in contrast to the felicity of the present period.

In the mean time, the following tract is dedicated to the memory of Agricola, my father-in-law. The design, as it springs from filial piety, may merit a degree of approbation ; it will, at least, be received with candour.

IV. CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA was born at the ancient and respectable colony of Forojulium (*a*). His grandfather, by the maternal as well as the paternal line, served the office of imperial procurator (*b*) ; a trust of importance, which always confers the equestrian dignity. His father, Julius Græcinus (*c*), was a member of the senate, distinguished by his eloquence and philosophy. His merit gave umbrage to Caligula. Being commanded by that emperor to undertake the prosecution of Marcus Silanus (*d*), he refused to comply, and was put to death. Julia Procilla (*e*), Agricola's mother, was respected for the purity of her manners. Under her care, and as it were in her bosom, the tender mind of the son was trained to science and every liberal accomplishment. His own ingenuous disposition guarded him against the seductions of pleasure. To that happy temperament was added the advantage of pursuing his studies at Marseilles (*f*), that seat of learning, where the refinements of Greece were happily blended with the sober manners of provincial œconomy.

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He has often declared in my hearing, that in the first career of youth he felt himself addicted to philosophical speculations with more ardour than consisted with the duties of a Roman and a senator (*g*); but his taste was soon reformed by the admonitions of his mother. In fact, it cannot be matter of wonder, that a sublime and warm imagination, struck with the forms of moral beauty and the love of science, should aspire to reach the glory of the philosophic character. As he grew up to manhood, his riper judgment weaned him from vain pursuits, and during the rest of his life he preserved, what is difficult to attain, that temperate judgment, which knows where to fix the bounds even of wisdom itself.

V. His first rudiments of military knowledge were acquired in Britain (*a*), under the conduct of Suetonius Paulinus, that experienced officer; active, vigilant, yet mild in command. Agricola was soon distinguished by his General, and selected to live with him at head-quarters (*b*). Honoured in this manner, he did not, as is usual with young men, mix riot and dissipation with actual service; nor did he avail himself of his rank of military tribune to obtain leave of absence (*c*), in order to pass his time in idle pleasures and ignorance of his duty. To know the province, and make himself known to the army; to learn from men of experience, and emulate the best examples; to seek no enterprise with a forward spirit, and to decline none with timid caution, were the rules he laid down to himself; prudent with valour, and brave without ostentation.

A more active campaign had never been known, nor was Britain at any time so fiercely disputed (*d*). Our veteran forces were put to the sword; our colonies smoked on the ground; and the

the legions were intercepted on their march. The struggle was then for life; we fought afterwards for fame and victory. In a juncture so big with danger, though the conduct of the war was in other hands, and the glory of recovering the province was justly ascribed to the commander in chief, yet so fair an opportunity did not fail to improve a young officer, and plant in his mind the early seeds of military ambition. The love of fame took possession of him, that principle of noble minds, but out of season in an evil period, when virtue suffered by sinister constructions, and from an illustrious name the danger was as great as from the most pernicious character.

VI. HE returned from Britain to enter on the gradations of the civil magistracy, and married Domitia Decidiana, a lady of high rank and splendid descent. By that alliance he gained an accession of strength and credit, that served to forward him in the road to public honours. The conjugal state proved a source of domestic happiness. They lived in perfect harmony, endeared by the tenderest affection, and each ascribing to the other the felicity which they enjoyed. But the merit of Decidiana could not be too much acknowledged. The praise of a valuable wife should always rise in proportion to the weight of censure, that falls on such as violate the nuptial union.

Agricola obtained the office of questor (*a*); and the province of Asia, of which Salvius Titianus (*b*) was proconsul, fell to his lot. Neither the place nor the governor could warp his integrity. The wealth of the inhabitants invited the hand of rapacity; and Titianus, by the bias of his nature prone to acts of avarice, was ready, on terms of mutual connivance, to co-operate in any scheme of guilt and plunder: but Agricola maintained his honour

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and his principles. During his stay in Asia his family was increased by the birth of a daughter, who proved soon after, when he lost his infant son, a source of consolation. The intermediate space between the expiration of his quæstorship and his advancement to the post of tribune of the people he had the prudence to pass in calm tranquillity. Even during the year of his tribuneship (*c*) he acted with the same reserve, aware of those disastrous times, when, under the tyranny of Nero's reign, the want of exertion was the truest wisdom. He discharged the office of prætor with the same moderation and silent dignity, having no occasion, as his good fortune would have it, to sit in judicature (*d*). That branch of the magistrates business did not fall to his share. The pageantry of public spectacles, which belonged to his department, he conducted with economy and magnificence, short of profusion, yet with due regard to popularity. In the following reign, being appointed by Galba one of the commissioners to inspect the state of oblations to the several temples (*e*), he managed the enquiry with so much skill and well-tempered judgment, that no species of sacrilegious rapine, except the plunder committed by Nero, was suffered to pass without redress.

VII. IN the course of (*a*) the following year a dreadful misfortune happened in his family, and proved to him a severe stroke of affliction. A descent, from Otho's fleet, which roved about in quest of depredations, was made on the coast of Liguria. The freebooters plundered the city of Intemelium (*b*), and in their fury murdered Agricola's mother, then residing upon her own estate. They laid waste her lands, and went off with a considerable booty. Agricola set out immediately to pay the last tribute of filial piety, and being informed, on his way, that Vespasian

pasian aspired to the imperial dignity, he declared at once in favour of that party.

In the beginning of the new reign (*c*), the government of Rome, and the whole administration centered in Mucianus, Domitian being, at that time, too young for business, and from the elevation of his father claiming no other privilege than that of being debauched and profligate without controul. Agricola was dispatched to raise new levies. He executed that commission with so much zeal and credit to himself, that Mucianus advanced him to the command of the twentieth legion (*d*), then quartered in Britain, and for some time unwilling to swear fidelity to Vespasian. The officer, who had the command of that corps, was suspected of seditious practices, and the men had carried their insolence to such a pitch, that they were even formidable to the consular generals. Their commander was of prætorian rank; but either on account of his own disaffection, or the turbulent spirit of the soldiers, his authority was too feeble. Agricola succeeded to the command of the legion, and to the task of punishing the guilty. He acquitted himself with consummate address, and singular moderation, wishing that the men should have the merit of voluntary compliance, and not seem to have yielded, with full submission, to the authority of their general.

VIII. THE government of Britain was at that time committed to Vettius Bolanus (*a*), a man of a milder disposition than consisted with the genius of those ferocious islanders. Agricola, that he might not seem to eclipse his superior officer, restrained his martial ardour, submitting with deference to his commander in chief, and, in every part of his conduct, uniting to his love of glory a due regard for the service. Bolanus was soon recalled, and

and Petilius Cerealis (*b*), an officer of consular rank, succeeded to the command. The field of warlike enterprise was laid open to Agricola. Under the new commander he was, at first, no more than a common sharer in the dangers of the campaign; but in a short time his talents had their free career. The general, to make his experiment, sent him at the head of detached parties, and afterwards, encouraged by the event, employed him in more important operations. Agricola never betrayed a symptom of vain glory. From the issue of his expeditions, however successful, he assumed no merit. It was the general that planned the measure, and he himself was no more than the hand that executed. By this conduct, vigorous in action, but modest in the report of his exploits, he gained a brilliant reputation, secure from the envy that attends it.

IX. ON his return to Rome, Vespasian advanced him to the patrician rank (*a*), and soon after to the government of the province of Aquitania (*b*); an appointment of the first importance, leading directly to the honours of the consulship, to which he then aspired with the concurrence of the prince. The military mind, trained up in the school of war, is generally supposed to want the power of nice discrimination. The jurisdiction of the camp is little solicitous about forms and subtle reasoning: military law is blunt and summary, and, where the sword resolves all difficulties, the refined discussions of the forum are never practised. Agricola, however, indebted to nature for a certain rectitude of understanding, was not out of his sphere (*c*) even among men versed in questions of jurisprudence. His hours of business and relaxation had their stated periods. In the council of the province, or on the tribunal of justice, he discharged the duties of his station with awful gravity, intent to enquire, often

severe, but more inclined to soften the rigour of the law. The functions of the magistrate being dispatched, he divested himself of his public character; the man in authority was no longer seen. In his actions no tincture of arrogance, no spleen, no avarice was ever seen. Uncommon as it may appear, the sweetness of his manners took nothing from his authority, nor was the impression made by his amiable qualities lessened by the inflexibility of the judge.

To say of a character truly great, that integrity and a spirit above corruption made a part of it, were mere tautology, as injurious to his virtues, as it is unnecessary. Even the love of fame, that fine incentive of generous minds, could neither betray him into an ostentatious display of virtue, nor induce him to practise those specious arts, that court applause, and often supply the place of merit. The little ambition of rising above his colleagues was foreign to his heart. He avoided all contention with the procurators of the prince. In struggles of that nature he knew that victory may be obtained without glory, and a defeat is certain disgrace. In less than three years he was recalled from his province, to take upon him the consular dignity. The voice of fame marked him out, at the same time, for the government of Britain: the report was current, but neither contrived, nor circulated by himself. He was mentioned, because he was worthy. Common fame does not always err: it often takes the lead, and determines the choice. During his consulship (*d*), though I was then very young, he agreed to a marriage between me and his daughter, who certainly might have looked for a prouder connection. The nuptial ceremony was not performed till the term of his consulship expired. In a short time after he was appointed governor of Britain, with the additional honour of a seat in the pontifical college.

X. IF I here presume to offer a description of Britain (*a*) and the manners of the people, it is not my intention to dispute with a number of authors, who have gone before me, either the fame of genius, or diligence in the research. The fact is, Britain was subdued under the conduct of Agricola, and that circumstance may justify the present attempt. Antecedent writers adorned conjecture with all the graces of language: what I have to offer will have nothing but the plain truth to recommend it.

Britain, of all the islands known to the Romans, is the largest. On the east, it extends towards Germany; on the west, towards Spain (*b*); and on the south, it lies opposite to the coast of Gaul. The northern extremity is lashed by the billows of a prodigious sea, and no land is known beyond it. The form of the island has been compared by two eloquent writers (Livy among the ancients, and Fabius Rusticus among the moderns) to an oblong shield, or a two-edged ax. The comparison, if we except Caledonia, may be allowed to be just, and hence the shape of a part has been, by vulgar error, ascribed to the whole. Caledonia stretches a vast length of way towards the north. The promontories, that jut out into the sea, render the form of the country broken and irregular, but it sharpens to a point at the extremity, and terminates in the shape of a wedge.

By Agricola's order the Roman fleet (*c*) sailed round the northern point, and made the first certain discovery that Britain is an island. The cluster of isles called the Orcades (*d*), till then wholly unknown, was in this expedition added to the Roman empire. Thule (*e*), which had lain concealed in the gloom of winter and a depth of eternal snows, was also seen by our navigators. The sea in those parts is said to be a sluggish mass of stagnated

nated water (*f*), hardly yielding to the stroke of the oar, and never agitated by winds and tempests. The natural cause may be, that high lands and mountains, which occasion commotions in the air, are deficient in those regions; not to mention that such a prodigious body of water, in a vast and boundless ocean, is heaved and impelled with difficulty. But a philosophical account of the ocean and its periodical motions is not the design of this essay: the subject has employed the pen of others. To what they have said I shall only add, that there is not in any other part of the world an expanse of water that rages with such uncontrouled dominion, now receiving the discharge of various rivers, and, at times, driving their current back to their source. Nor is it on the coast only that the flux and reflux of the tide are perceived: the swell of the sea forces its way into the recesses of the land, forming bays and islands in the heart of the country, and foaming amidst hills and mountains, as in its natural channel.

XI. WHETHER the first inhabitants of Britain were natives of the island (*a*), or adventitious settlers, is a question lost in the mists of antiquity. The Britons, like other barbarous nations, have no monuments of their history. They differ in the make and habit of their bodies, and hence various inferences concerning their origin. The ruddy hair and lusty limbs of the Caledonians (*b*) indicate a German extraction. That the Silures (*c*) were at first a colony of Iberians is concluded, not without probability, from the olive tincture of the skin, the natural curl of the hair, and the situation of the country, so convenient to the coast of Spain. On the side opposite to Gaul the inhabitants resemble their neighbours on the continent; but whether that resemblance is the effect of one common origin, or of the climate

mate in contiguous nations operating on the make and temperament of the human body, is a point not easy to be decided. All circumstances considered, it is rather probable that a colony from Gaul took possession of a country so inviting by its proximity (*d*). You will find in both nations the same religious rites, and the same (*e*) superstition. The two languages differ but little (*f*). In provoking danger they discover the same ferocity, and in the encounter, the same timidity. The Britons, however, not yet enfeebled by a long peace, are possessed of superior courage (*g*). The Gauls, we learn from history, were formerly a warlike people; but sloth, the consequence of inactive times, has debased their genius, and virtue died with expiring liberty. Among such of the Britons (*b*), as have been for some time subdued, the same degeneracy is observable. The free and unconquered part of the nation retains at this hour the ferocity of the ancient Gauls.

XII. THE strength of their armies consists in infantry, though some of their warriors take the field in chariots (*a*). The person of highest distinction guides the reins, while his martial followers, mounted in the same vehicle, annoy the enemy. The Britons were formerly governed by a race of kings (*b*): at present they are divided into factions under various chieftains; and this disunion, which prevents their acting in concert for a public interest, is a circumstance highly favourable to the Roman arms against a warlike people, independant, fierce, and obstinate. A confederation (*c*) of two or more states to repel the common danger is seldom known: they fight in parties, and the nation is subdued.

The climate is unfavourable; always damp with rains, and
 7 overcast

overcast with clouds. Intense cold is never felt. The days are longer than in our southern regions; the nights remarkably bright, and, towards the extremity of the island, so very short (*d*), that between the last gleam of day and the returning dawn the interval is scarce perceptible. In a serene sky, when no clouds intervene to obstruct the sight, the sun, we are told, appears all night long, neither setting in the west, nor rising in the east, but always moving above the horizon. The cause of this phenomenon may be, that the surface of the earth, towards the northern extremities, being flat and level, the shade never rises to any considerable height, and, the sky still retaining the rays of the sun (*e*), the heavenly bodies continue visible.

The soil does not afford either the vine, the olive, or the fruits of warmer climates: but it is otherwise fertile, and yields corn in great plenty. Vegetation is quick in shooting up, and flows in coming to maturity. Both effects are reducible to the same cause, the constant moisture of the atmosphere and the dampness of the soil. Britain contains, to reward the conqueror, mines of gold and silver (*f*), and other metals. The sea produces pearls (*g*), but of a dark and livid colour. This defect is ascribed by some to want of skill in this kind of fishery: the people, employed in gathering, content themselves with gleaning what happens to be thrown upon the shore, whereas in the Red Sea the shell-fish are found clinging to the rocks, and taken alive. For my part, I am inclined to think that the British pearl is of an inferior quality. I cannot impute to avarice a neglect of its interest.

XIII. THE Britons are willing to supply our armies with new levies; they pay their tribute without a murmur; and they perform all the services of government with alacrity, provided they have

have no reason to complain of oppression. When injured, their resentment is quick, sudden, and impatient: they are conquered, not broken-hearted; reduced to obedience, not subdued to slavery. Even Julius Cæsar, the first of the Romans (*a*) who set his foot in Britain at the head of an army, can only be said by a prosperous battle to have struck the natives with terror, and to have made himself master of the sea-shore. The discoverer, not the conqueror of the island, he did no more than shew it to posterity. Rome could not boast of a conquest. The civil wars broke out soon after, and, in that scene of distraction, when the swords of the leading men were drawn against their country, it was natural to lose sight of Britain. During the peace that followed the same neglect continued: Augustus called it the wisdom of his councils (*b*), and Tiberius made it a rule of state-policy.

That Caligula meditated an invasion of Britain (*c*) is a fact well known; but the expedition, like his mighty preparations against Germany, was rendered abortive by the capricious temper of the man, resolving always without consideration, and repenting without experiment. The grand enterprise was reserved for the emperor Claudius (*d*), who transported into Britain an army composed of regular legions, besides a large body of auxiliaries. With the officers, appointed to conduct the war, he joined Vespasian, who there laid the foundation of that success which afterwards attended him. Several states were conquered, kings were led in captivity, and the Fates beheld Vespasian giving an earnest of his future glory.

XIV. THE first officer of consular rank, that commanded in Britain, was Aulus Plautius (*a*). To him succeeded Ostorius Scapula (*b*); both eminent for their military character. Under their

auspices the southern part of Britain took the form of a province, and received a colony of veterans (*c*). Certain districts were assigned to Cogidunus, a king, who reigned over part of the country. He lived within our own memory, preserving always his faith unviolated, and exhibiting a striking proof of that refined policy, with which it has ever been the practice of Rome to make even kings accomplices in the servitude of mankind.

The next governor was Didius Gallus (*d*). He preserved the acquisitions made by his predecessors, without aiming at an extension of territory, and without any advantage, except a few forts, which he built on the remote borders of the province, in hopes of gaining some pretension to the fame of having enlarged the frontier. Veranius (*e*) succeeded to the command, but died within the year. Suetonius Paulinus (*f*) was the next in succession. That officer pushed on the war in one continued series of prosperity for two years together. In that time he subdued several states, and secured his conquest by a chain of posts and garrisons. Confiding in the strength, which he had thus established, he formed the plan of reducing the isle of Mona (*g*), the grand resource from which the malecontents drew their supplies. But having, in that expedition, turned his back on the conquered provinces, he gave an opportunity for a general revolt.

XV. THE Britons, relieved from their fears by the absence of the commander in chief, began to descant on the horrors of slavery (*a*). They stated their grievances, and, to inflame resentment, painted every thing in the most glaring colours. "What
" was now the consequence of their passive spirit? The hand of
" oppression falls on the tame and abject with greater weight.
" Each state was formerly subject to a single king (*b*), but now
" two

“ two masters rule with an iron-rod. The general gluts himself
 “ with the blood of the vanquished, and the imperial procurator
 “ devours our property. Those haughty tyrants may act in con-
 “ cert, or they may be at variance ; but in either case the lot of
 “ the Britons is the same. The centurions of the general, and
 “ the followers of the tax-gatherer add pride and insolence to
 “ injustice and rapacity. Nothing is safe from avarice, nothing
 “ by lust unviolated. In the field of battle, the booty is for the
 “ brave and warlike : at present, cowards and abject wretches
 “ seize the possessions of the natives ; to them the Britons tamely
 “ yield up their children ; for them they make new levies, and
 “ in short, the good of his country is the only cause in which a
 “ Briton has forgot to die. Compute the number of men, born
 “ in freedom, who inhabit the island, and the Roman invaders
 “ are but a handful. It was thus the Germans argued, and they
 “ shook off the yoke (*c*). No ocean rolled between them and
 “ the invader : they were separated by a river only. The Bri-
 “ tons have every motive to excite their valour. They have their
 “ country to defend, and they have their liberty to assert ; they
 “ have wives and children to urge them on ; and they have
 “ parents, who sue to them for protection. On the part of the
 “ Romans, if we except luxury and avarice, what incentives are
 “ there to draw them to the field ? Let British valour emu-
 “ late the virtue of ancient times, and the invaders, like their own
 “ deified Cæsar, will abandon the island. The loss of a single
 “ battle, and even a second, cannot decide the fate of a whole
 “ people. Many advantages list on the side of misery. To attack
 “ with fury, and persevere with constancy, belongs to men who
 “ groan under oppression. The gods, at length, behold the Bri-
 “ tons with an eye of compassion : they have removed the Ro-
 “ man general from his station ; they detain him and his army

“ in another island (*d*). The oppressed have gained an advance, too often difficult to obtain: they can now deliberate; they are met in council. In designs like these, the whole danger lies in being detected: act like men, and success will be the issue of the war.”

XVI. INFLAMED by these and such like topics, the spirit of revolt was diffused through the country. With one consent they took up arms, under the conduct of Boadicea (*a*), a queen descended from a race of royal ancestors. In Britain there is no rule of distinction to exclude the female line from the throne, or the command of armies. The insurgents rushed to the attack with headlong fury; they found the Romans dispersed in their garrisons; they put all to the sword; they stormed the forts; they attacked the capital of the colony, which they considered as the seat of oppression, and with fire and sword laid it level with the ground. Whatever revenge could prompt, or victory inspire, was executed with unrelenting cruelty; and if Suetonius (*b*), on the first intelligence, had not hastened back by rapid marches, Britain had been lost. By the event of a single battle the province was recovered, though the embers of rebellion were not quite extinguished. Numbers of the malecontents, conscious of their share in the revolt, and dreading the vengeance of Suetonius, still continued under arms.

The truth is, notwithstanding the excellent qualities that distinguished the Roman general, it was the blemish of his character, that he proceeded always against the vanquished, even after they surrendered, with excessive rigour. Justice, under his administration, had frequently the air of revenge for a personal injury. In his public proceedings he mingled too much of his own passions,

passions, and was therefore recalled, to make way for Petronius Turpilianus (*c*), a man of less asperity, new to the Britons, and, having no resentments, likely to be satisfied on moderate terms. He restored the tranquillity of the island and, without attempting any thing farther, resigned the province to Trebellius Maximus (*d*), an officer of no experience, by nature indolent and inactive, but possessed of certain popular arts, that reconciled the minds of men to his administration. The Barbarians, at this time, had acquired a taste for elegant and alluring vices. The civil wars, which soon afterwards convulsed the empire, were a fair apology for the pacific temper of the general. His army, however, was not free from intestine discord. The soldiers, formerly inured to discipline, grew wanton in idleness, and broke out into open sedition. To avoid the fury of his men, Trebellius was obliged to save himself by flight. Having lain for some time in a place of concealment, he returned with an awkward air to take upon him the command. His dignity was impaired, and his spirit humbled. From that time his authority was feeble and precarious. It seemed to be a compromise between the parties: the general remained unmolested, the soldiers uncontrouled, and on those terms the mutiny ended without bloodshed. Vettius Bolanus (*e*) was the next commander; but the distractions of the civil war still continuing, he did not think it advisable to introduce a plan of regular discipline. The same inactive disposition on the part of the general, and the same mutinous spirit among the soldiers, still prevailed. The only difference was, that the character of Bolanus was without a blemish. If he did not establish his authority, he lived on good terms with all; beloved, though not respected.

XVII. WHEN Britain, with the rest of the Roman world,
fell

fell to the lot of Vespasian, the ablest officers were sent to reduce the island; powerful armies were set in motion, and the spirit of the natives began to droop. In order to spread a general terror, Petilius Cerealis (*a*) fell with sudden fury on the Brigantes (*b*), in point of numbers the most considerable state in the whole province. Various battles were fought, with alternate success, and great effusion of blood. At length the greatest part of that extensive country was either subdued, or involved in all the calamities of war. The fame of Cerealis grew to a size that might discourage the ablest successor; and yet under that disadvantage Julius Frontinus (*c*) undertook the command. His talents did not suffer by the comparison. He was a man truly great, and sure to signalise himself, whenever a fair opportunity called forth his abilities. He reduced to subjection the powerful and warlike state of the Silures (*d*), and, though in that expedition he had to cope not only with a fierce and obstinate enemy, but with the difficulties of a country almost impracticable, it was his glory that he surmounted every obstacle.

XVIII. SUCH was the state of Britain, and such the events of war, when Agricola arrived about the middle of summer (*a*) to take upon him the command. He found an army lulled in indolence and security, as if the campaign was at an end, while the enemy was on the watch to seize the first opportunity. The Ordovicians (*b*), not long before his arrival, had fallen upon a party of horse, that happened to be quartered in their district, and put them almost all to the sword. By this blow the courage of the Britons was once more revived: the bold and resolute declared for open war, while others, less sanguine, were against unsheathing the sword, till the character and genius of the new governor should be better known.

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Many things conspired to embarrass Agricola: the summer was far advanced; the troops were stationed at different quarters, expecting a cessation of arms during the remainder of the year; and to act on the defensive, content with strengthening the weakest stations, was in the opinion of the best officers the most prudent measure. These were circumstances unfavourable to a spirit of enterprise; but the general resolved to put his army in motion, and face the danger without delay. For this purpose, he drew together various detachments from the legions, and, with the addition of a body of auxiliaries, marched against the enemy. The Ordovicians continuing to decline an engagement on the open plain, he determined to seek them on their heights, and, to animate his men by his own example, he advanced at the head of the line. A battle ensued, and the issue was the destruction of the Ordovician state. Knowing of what moment it is to follow the first impressions of fame, and little doubting but that every thing would fall before an army flushed with victory, Agricola formed a plan for the reduction of the isle of Mona (*c*), from which Paulinus had been recalled by the general insurrection of the province, as already mentioned.

For the execution of an enterprise so sudden and important, no measures had been concerted, and, by consequence, no vessels were ready to transport the troops. The genius and resolution of the general supplied all deficiencies. He draughted from the auxiliaries a chosen band, well acquainted with the fordable places, and, inured to the national practice of swimming across lakes and rivers with such dexterity, that they could manage their arms and guide their horses at the same time. This select corps, free from the incumbrance of their baggage, dashed into the water, and made their way with vigour towards the island.

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This mode of attack astonished the enemy, who expected nothing less than a fleet of transports, and a regular embarkation. Struck with consternation, they thought nothing impregnable to men, who waged so unusual a war. In despair they sued for peace, and surrendered the island. The event added new lustre to the name of Agricola, who had thus set out with a spirit of enterprise, and crowded so much glory into that part of the year, which is usually trifled away in vain parade and the homage of flatterers. The moderation, with which he enjoyed his victory, was remarkable. He had reduced the vanquished to obedience, and the act, he said, did not deserve the name of victory, nor even of an expedition. In his dispatches to Rome he assumed no merit, nor were his letters, according to custom, decorated (*d*) with sprigs of laurel. But this self-denial served only to enhance his fame. From the modesty of a commander, who could undervalue such important services, men inferred that projects of vast extent were even then in his contemplation.

XIX. AGRICOLA was well acquainted with the manners and national character of the Britons: he knew by the experience of past events, that conquest, while it loads the vanquished with injury and oppression, can never be secure and permanent. He determined, therefore, to suppress the seeds of future hostility. He began a reform in his own household; a necessary work, but attended often with no less difficulty than the administration of a province. He removed his slaves and freedmen from every department of public business. Promotions in the army no longer went by favour, or the partiality of the centurions; merit decided, and the man of worth, Agricola knew, would be the most faithful soldier. To know every thing, and yet overlook a great deal; to forgive slight offences (*a*), and treat

treat matters of importance with due severity, was the rule of his conduct; never vindictive, and in many instances disarmed by penitence. The prevention of crimes was what he wished, and to that end, in the disposal of offices he made choice of men, whose conduct promised to supersede the necessity of punishment.

The exigencies of the army called for large contributions of corn and other supplies, and yet he lightened the burthen by just and equal assessments, providing at the same time against the extortions of the tax-gatherer (*b*), more odious and intolerable than even the tax itself. It had been the settled practice of the collectors to engross all the corn, and then, adding mockery to injustice, to make the injured Briton wait at the door of the public granary (*c*), humbly supplicating that he might be permitted to repurchase his own grain, which he was afterwards obliged to sell at an inferior price. A further grievance was, that, instead of delivering the requisite quantity of corn at the nearest and most convenient magazines, the Britons were forced to make tedious journeys through difficult cross-country roads, in order to supply camps and stations at a remote distance; and thus the business, which might have been conducted with convenience to all, was converted into a job to gratify the avarice of a few.

XX. In the first year of Agricola's administration these abuses were all suppressed. The consequence was, that peace, which through the neglect or connivance of former governors was no less terrible than war itself, began to diffuse its blessings, and to be relished by all. As soon as the (*a*) summer opened, he assembled his army, and marched in quest of the enemy. Ever present at the head of the lines, he encouraged the strenuous by com-

mendation ; he rebuked the sluggard, who fell from his rank ; he went in person to mark out the station for encampments (*b*) ; he founded the æstuaries, and explored the woods and forests (*c*). The Britons, in the mean time, were by sudden incursions kept in a constant alarm. Having spread a general terror through the country, he then suspended his operations, that, in the interval of repose, the Barbarians might taste the sweets of peace. In consequence of these measures, several states, which till then had breathed a spirit of independence, were induced to lay aside their hostile intentions, and to give hostages for their pacific behaviour. Along the frontier of the several districts, which had submitted, a chain of posts was established, with so much care and judgment, that no part of the country, even where the Roman arms had never penetrated, could think itself secure from the vigour of the conqueror.

XXI. To introduce a system of new and wise regulations was the business of the following winter. A fierce and savage people, running wild in woods, would be ever addicted to a life of warfare. To wean them from those habits, Agricola held forth the baits of pleasure, encouraging the natives, as well by public assistance, as by warm exhortations, to build temples (*a*), courts of justice, and commodious dwelling-houses. He bestowed encomiums on such as cheerfully obeyed : the slow and uncomplaining were branded with reproach ; and thus a spirit of emulation diffused itself, operating like a sense of duty. To establish a plan of education, and give the sons of the leading chiefs a tincture of letters, was part of his policy. By way of encouragement, he praised their talents, and already saw them, by the force of their natural genius, rising superior (*b*) to the attainments of the Gauls. The consequence was, that they, who had always disdained the

Roman

Roman language, began to cultivate its beauties. The Roman apparel was seen without prejudice, and the toga became a fashionable part of dress. By degrees the charms of vice gained admission to their hearts: baths, and porticos, and elegant banquets grew into vogue; and the new manners, which, in fact, served only to sweeten slavery, were by the unsuspecting Britons called the arts of polished humanity.

XXII. IN the course of the third year (*a*) the progress of the Roman arms discovered new nations, whose territories were laid waste as far as the æstuary, called the Firth of Tay (*b*). The legions had to struggle with all the difficulties of a tempestuous season; and yet the Barbarians, struck with a general panic, never dared to hazard an engagement. The country, as far as the Romans advanced, was secured by forts and garrisons (*c*). Men of skill and military science observed that no officer knew better than Agricola, how to seize, on a sudden view, the most advantageous situation, and, accordingly, not one of the stations, fortified by his direction, was taken by storm; not one was reduced to capitulate; not one was surrendered or abandoned to the enemy. At every post, to enable the garrison to stand a siege, a year's provision was provided, and, each place having strength sufficient, frequent sallies were made; the besiegers were repulsed; and the Romans passed the winter secure from danger. The consequence of these precautions was, that the enemy, who had been accustomed to retrieve in the winter what they lost in the antecedent summer, saw no difference of seasons: they were defeated every where, and reduced to the last despair. Avarice of fame was no part of Agricola's character; nor was he ever known to arrogate to himself the praises due to other officers. From the commander of a legion to the lowest centurion, all found in their

general a willing witness of their conduct. In his manner of expressing his disapprobation, he was thought to mix a degree of asperity. The truth is, his antipathy to bad men was equalled by nothing but his politeness to the deserving. His anger soon passed away, and left no trace behind. From his silence you had nothing to fear. Scorning to disguise his sentiments, he acted always with a generous warmth, at the hazard of making enemies. To harbour secret resentment was not in his nature.

XXIII. THE business of the fourth campaign (*a*) was to secure the country, which had been over-run, not conquered, in the preceding summer; and if the spirit of the troops and the glory of the Roman name had been capable of suffering any limits, there was in Britain itself a convenient spot, where the boundary of the empire might have been fixed. The place for that purpose was, where the waters of the Glota and Bodotria (*b*), driven up the country by the influx of two opposite seas, are hindered from joining by a narrow neck of land, which was then guarded by a chain of forts (*c*). On the south side of the isthmus the whole country was bridled by the Romans, and evacuated by the enemy, who were driven, as it were, into another island (*d*).

XXIV. IN the fifth summer (*a*) Agricola made an expedition by sea. He embarked in the first Roman vessel that ever crossed the æstuary (*b*), and having penetrated into regions till then unknown, he defeated the inhabitants in several engagements, and lined the coast, which lies opposite to Ireland, with a body of troops; not so much from an apprehension of danger, as with a view to future projects. He saw that Ireland, lying between Britain and Spain, and at the same time convenient to the ports of Gaul, might prove a valuable acquisition, capable of giving
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an easy communication, and, of course, strength and union to provinces disjoined by nature.

Ireland is less than Britain, but exceeds in magnitude all the islands of the Mediterranean. The soil, the climate, the manners and genius of the inhabitants differ little from those of Britain. By the means of merchants resorting thither for the sake of commerce, the harbours and approaches to the coast are well known. One of their petty kings (*c*) who had been forced to fly from the fury of a domestic faction, was received by the Roman general, and, under a shew of friendship, detained to be of use on some future occasions. I have often heard Agricola declare, that a single legion, with a moderate band of auxiliaries, would be sufficient to complete the conquest of Ireland. Such an event, he said, would contribute greatly to bridle the stubborn spirit of the Britons, who, in that case, would see, with dismay, the Roman arms triumphant, and every spark of liberty extinguished round their coast.

XXV. IN the campaign (*a*), which began in the sixth summer, having reason to apprehend a general confederacy of the nations beyond the Firth of Bodotria, and fearing, in a country not yet explored, the danger of a surprise, Agricola ordered his ships to sail across the gulf (*b*), and gain some knowledge of those new regions. The fleet, now acting, for the first time, in concert with the land-forces, proceeded in sight of the army, forming a magnificent spectacle, and adding terror to the war. It frequently happened, that in the same camp were seen the infantry and cavalry intermixed with the marines, all indulging their joy, full of their adventures, and magnifying the history of their exploits; the soldier describing, in the usual style of military ostentation, the

the forests which he had passed, the mountains which he climbed, and the Barbarians whom he put to the rout; while the sailor, no less important, had his storms and tempests, the wonders of the deep, and the spirit with which he conquered winds and waves.

At the sight of the Roman fleet, the Britons, according to intelligence gained from the prisoners, were struck with consternation, convinced that every resource was cut off, since the sea, which had always been their shelter, was now laid open to the invader. In this distress, the Caledonians resolved to try the issue of a battle. Warlike preparations were instantly begun with a degree of exertion, great in reality, but, as is always the case in matters obscure and distant, magnified by the voice of fame. Without waiting for the commencement of hostilities, they stormed the Roman forts and castles (*c*), and, by provoking danger, made such an impression, that several officers in Agricola's army, disguising their fear under the specious appearance of prudent counsels, recommended a sudden retreat, to avoid the disgrace of being driven back to the other side of the Firth. Meanwhile Agricola received intelligence that the enemy meditated an attack in various quarters at once, and thereupon, lest superior numbers, in a country, where he was a stranger to the defiles and passes, should be able to surround him, he divided his army, and marched forward in three columns.

XXVI. THE Caledonians, informed of this arrangement, changed their plan, and, in the dead of night, fell with their united force upon the ninth legion (*a*), then the weakest of the Roman army. They surprised the advanced guard, and having, in the confusion of sleep and terror, put the sentinels to the sword, they forced their way through the entrenchments. The conflict

was in the very camp, when Agricola, who had been informed that the Barbarians were on their march, and instantly pursued their steps, came up to the relief of the legion. He ordered the swiftest of the horse and light infantry to advance with expedition, and charge the enemy in the rear, while his whole army set up a general shout. At break of day the Roman banners glittered in view of the Barbarians, who found themselves hemmed in by two armies, and began to relax their vigour. The spirit of the legion revived. The men perceived that the moment of distress was over, and the struggle was now for glory. Acting no longer on the defensive, they rushed on to the attack. In the very gates (*b*) of the camp a fierce and obstinate engagement followed. The besieged legion, and the forces, that came to their relief, fought with a spirit of emulation; the latter contending for the honour of succouring the distressed, and the former, to prove that they stood in no need of assistance. The Caledonians were put to the rout; and if the woods and marshes (*c*) had not favoured their escape, that single action had put an end to the war.

XXVII. By this victory, so complete and glorious, the Roman army was inspired with confidence, to such a degree, that they now pronounced themselves invincible. Nothing could stand before them: they desired to be led into the recesses of the country, and, by following their blow, to penetrate to the extremity of the island. Even the prudent of the day before changed their tone with the event, and talked of nothing but victory and conquest. Such is the tax, which the commanders of armies must always pay: the merit of success is claimed by all; calamity is imputed to the general only.

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The Caledonians, notwithstanding their defeat, abated nothing from their ferocity. Their want of success, they said, was not to be ascribed to superior courage; it was the chance of war, or, perhaps, the skill of the Roman general. In this persuasion they resolved to keep the field. They lifted the young men of their nation; they sent their wives and children to a place of safety; they held public conventions of the several states, and with solemn rites and sacrifices (*a*) formed a league in the cause of liberty. The campaign ended in this manner, and the two armies, inflamed with mutual animosity, retired into winter-quarters.

XXVIII. IN the course of the same summer, a cohort of the Usipians (*a*) which had been raised in Germany, and thence transported to serve in Britain, performed an exploit so daring and extraordinary, that in this place it may be allowed to merit attention. Having murdered the centurion, who was left in command, and also the soldiers, who, for the purpose of introducing military discipline, had been incorporated with the several companies (*b*), they seized three light galleys, and, forcing the masters on board, determined to sail from the island. One of the pilots made his escape, and suspicion falling on the other two, they were both killed on the spot. Before their design transpired, the deserters put to sea, to the astonishment of all who beheld the vessels under way.

They had not sailed far, when they became the sport of winds and waves. They made frequent descents on the coast in quest of plunder, and had various conflicts with the natives, victorious in some places, and in others beat back to their ships. Reduced
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at length to the extremity of famine, they fed on their companions, at first devouring the weakest, and afterwards deciding among themselves by lot. In this distress they sailed round the extremity of the island (*c*), and, through want of skill in navigation, were wrecked on the continent, where they were treated as pirates, first by the Suevians, and afterwards by the Frisians. Being sold to slavery, and in the way of commerce turned over to different masters, some of them reached the Roman settlements on the banks of the Rhine, and there grew famous for their sufferings, and the bold singularity of their voyage. In the beginning of the following summer (*d*) Agricola met with a stroke of affliction by the loss of a son, about a year old. He did not upon this occasion affect, like many others, the character of a man superior to the feelings of nature; nor yet did he suffer his grief to sink him down into unbecoming weakness. He felt the impression, but regret was lost in the avocations of war.

XXIX. In the opening of the campaign, he dispatched his fleet, with orders to annoy the coast by frequent descents in different places, and spread a general alarm. He put himself, in the mean time, at the head of his army equipped for expedition, and taking with him a select band of the bravest Britons, of known and approved fidelity, he advanced as far as the Grampian hills (*a*), where the enemy was already posted in force. Undismayed by their former defeat, the Barbarians expected no other issue than a total overthrow, or a brave revenge. Experience had taught them that the common cause required a vigorous exertion of their united strength. For this purpose, by treaties of alliance, and, by deputations to the several cantons, they had drawn together the strength of their nation. Upwards of thirty thousand men appeared in arms, and their force was

increasing every day. The youth of the country poured in from all quarters, and even the men in years, whose vigour was still unbroken, repaired to the army, proud of their past exploits, and the ensigns of honour which they had gained by their martial spirit. Among the chieftains, distinguished by their birth and valour, the most renowned was Galgacus (*b*). The multitude gathered round him, eager for action, and burning with uncommon ardour. He harangued them to the following effect :

XXX. “ WHEN I consider the motives that have roused us
 “ to this war; when I reflect on the necessity that now demands
 “ our firmest vigour, I expect every thing great and noble from
 “ that union of sentiment that pervades us all. From this day I date
 “ the freedom of Britain. We are the men, who never crouched
 “ in bondage. Beyond this spot there is no land, where liberty
 “ can find a refuge. Even the sea is shut against us, while the
 “ Roman fleet is hovering on the coast. To draw the sword in
 “ the cause of freedom is the true glory of the brave, and, in
 “ our condition, cowardice itself would throw away the scabbard.
 “ In the battles, which have been hitherto fought with alternate
 “ vicissitudes of fortune, our countrymen might well repose some
 “ hopes in us; they might consider us as their last resource; they
 “ knew us to be the noblest sons of Britain, placed in the last
 “ recesses of the land, in the very sanctuary of liberty. We have
 “ not so much as seen the melancholy regions, where slavery
 “ has debased mankind. We have lived in freedom, and our
 “ eyes have been unpolluted by the sight of ignoble bondage.

“ The extremity of the earth is ours: defended by our situ-
 “ ation, we have to this day preserved our honour and the rights
 “ of men. But we are no longer safe in our obscurity: our

“ retreat

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“ conquered. I have been proud of my soldiers, and you have
“ had no reason to blush for your general. We have carried the
“ terror of our arms beyond the limits of any other soldiers, or
“ any former general (*b*); we have penetrated to the extremity
“ of the land. This was formerly the boast of vain-glory, the mere
“ report of fame: it is now historical truth. We have gained
“ possession sword in hand; we are encamped on the utmost
“ limits of the island. Britain is discovered, and by the disco-
“ very conquered.

“ In our long and laborious marches, when you were obliged
“ to traverse moors, and fens, and rivers, and to climb steep and
“ craggy mountains, it was still the cry of the bravest amongst
“ you, When shall we be led to battle? When shall we see the
“ enemy? Behold them now before you. They are hunted out
“ of their dens and caverns; your wish is granted, and the field
“ of glory lies open to your swords. One victory more makes
“ this new world our own; but remember that a defeat involves
“ us all in the last distress. If we consider the progress of our
“ arms, to look back is glorious; the tract of country that lies
“ behind us, the forests which you have explored, and the
“ æstuaries which you have passed, are monuments of eternal
“ fame. But our fame can only last, while we press forward on
“ the enemy. If we give ground, if we think of a retreat, we
“ have the same difficulties to surmount again. The success,
“ which is now our pride, will in that case be our worst misfor-
“ tune. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the course of the
“ country; the enemy knows the defiles and marshes, and will
“ be supplied with provisions in abundance. We have not those
“ advantages, but we have hands that can grasp the sword, and
“ we have valour (*c*), that gives us every thing. With me it
“ has

“ has long been a settled principle, that the back of a general or
 “ his army is never safe. Which of you would not rather die
 “ with honour, than live in infamy? But life and honour are
 “ this day inseparable; they are fixed to one spot. Should for-
 “ tune declare against us, we die on the utmost limits of the
 “ world; and to die, where nature ends, cannot be deemed
 “ inglorious.

XXXIV. “ If our present struggle were with nations wholly
 “ unknown; if we had to do with an enemy new to our swords,
 “ I should call to mind the example of other armies. At present,
 “ what can I propose so bright and animating as your own ex-
 “ ploits? I appeal to your own eyes: behold the men drawn up
 “ against you: are they not the same, who last year, under
 “ covert of the night, assaulted the ninth legion (*a*), and, upon
 “ the first shout of our army, fled before you? A band of
 “ dastards! who have subsisted hitherto, because of all the Bri-
 “ tons they are the most expeditious runaways.

“ In woods and forests the fierce and noble animals attack the
 “ huntsmen, and rush on certain destruction; but the timorous
 “ herd is soon dispersed, scared by the sound and clamour of the
 “ chase. In like manner, the brave and warlike Britons have
 “ long since perished by the sword. The refuse of the nation
 “ still remains. They have not staid to make head against you;
 “ they are hunted down; they are caught in the toils. Be-
 “ numbed with fear, they stand motionless on yonder spot, which
 “ you will render for ever memorable by a glorious victory.
 “ Here you may end your labours, and close a scene of fifty
 “ years (*b*) by one great, one glorious day. Let your country
 “ see, and let the commonwealth bear witness, if the conquest of
 “ Britain

“ Britain has been a lingering work; if the seeds of rebellion have
“ not been crushed, that we at least have done our duty.”

XXXV. DURING this harangue, whilst Agricola was still addressing the men, a more than common ardour glowed on every countenance. As soon as the general ended, the field rung with shouts of applause. Impatient for the onset, the soldiers grasped their arms. Agricola restrained their violence, till he formed his order of battle. The auxiliary infantry (*a*), in number about eight thousand, occupied the centre. The wings consisted of three thousand horse. The legions were stationed in the rear, at the head of the entrenchments, as a body of reserve to support the ranks, if necessary, but otherwise to remain inactive, that a victory, obtained without the effusion of Roman blood, might be of higher value.

The Caledonians kept possession of the rising grounds, extending their ranks as wide as possible, to present a formidable show of battle. Their first line was ranged on the plain, the rest in a gradual ascent on the acclivity of the hill. The intermediate space between both armies was filled with the charioteers (*b*) and cavalry of the Britons, rushing to and fro in wild career, and traversing the plain with noise and tumult. The enemy, being greatly superior in number, there was reason to apprehend that the Romans might be attacked both in front and flank at the same time. To prevent that mischief, Agricola ordered his ranks to form a wider range. Some of the officers saw that the lines were weakened into length, and, therefore, advised that the legions should be brought forward into the field of action. But the general was not of a temper to be easily dissuaded from his purpose. Flushed with hope, and firm in the hour of danger, he immedi-

ately dismounted, and, dismissing his horse, took his stand at the head of the colours.

XXXVI. THE battle began, and at first was maintained at a distance. The Britons neither wanted skill nor resolution. With their long swords, and targets (*a*) of small dimension, they had the address to elude the missile weapons of the Romans, and at the same time to discharge a thick volley of their own. To bring the conflict to a speedy decision, Agricola ordered three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts (*b*) to charge the enemy sword in hand. To this mode of attack those troops had been long accustomed, but to the Britons it was every way disadvantageous. Their small targets afforded no protection, and their unwieldy swords, not sharpened to a point (*c*), could do but little execution in a close engagement. The Batavians rushed to the attack with impetuous fury; they redoubled their blows, and with the bosses of their shields bruised the enemy in the face, and, having overpowered all resistance on the plain, began to force their way up the ascent of the hill in regular order of battle. Incited by their example, the other cohorts advanced with a spirit of emulation, and cut their way with terrible slaughter. Eager in pursuit of victory, they pressed forward with determined fury, leaving behind them numbers wounded, but not slain, and others not so much as hurt.

The Roman cavalry, in the mean time, was forced to give ground (*d*). The Caledonians, in their armed chariots, rushed at full speed into the thick of the battle, where the infantry were engaged. Their first impression struck a general terror, but their career was soon checked by the inequalities of the ground, and the close embodied ranks of the Romans. Nothing could less resemble

ble an engagement of the cavalry. Pent up in narrow places, the Barbarians crowded upon each other, and were driven or dragged along by their own horses. A scene of confusion followed. Chariots without a guide, and horses without a rider, broke from the ranks in wild disorder, and flying every way, as fear and consternation urged, they overwhelmed their own files, and trampled down all who came in their way.

XXXVII. MEANWHILE the Britons, who had hitherto kept their post on the hills, looking down with contempt on the scanty numbers of the Roman army, began to quit their station. Descending slowly, they hoped, by wheeling round the field of battle, to attack the victors in the rear. To counteract their design, Agricola ordered four squadrons of horse, which he had kept as a body of reserve, to advance to the charge. The Britons poured down with impetuosity, and retired with equal precipitation. At the same time, the cavalry, by the directions of the general, wheeled round from the wings, and fell with great slaughter on the rear of the enemy, who now perceived that their own stratagem was turned against themselves.

The field presented a dreadful spectacle of carnage and destruction. The Britons fled; the Romans pursued; they wounded, gashed, and mangled the runaways; they seized their prisoners, and, to be ready for others, butchered them on the spot (*a*). Despair and horror appeared in various shapes: in one part of the field the Caledonians, sword in hand, fled in crowds from a handful of Romans; in other places, without a weapon left, they faced every danger, and rushed on certain death. Swords and bucklers, mangled limbs and dead bodies, covered the plain. The field was red with blood. The vanquished Britons had

their moments of returning courage, and gave proofs of virtue and of brave despair. They fled to the woods, and, rallying their scattered numbers, surrounded such of the Romans as pursued with too much eagerness.

Agricola was every where present. He saw the danger, and, if he had not in the instant taken due precaution, the victorious army would have had reason to repent of too much confidence in success. The light-armed cohorts had orders to invest the woods. Where the thickets were too close for the horse to enter, the men dismounted to explore the passes, and where the woods gave an opening, the rest of the cavalry rushed in, and scoured the country. The Britons, seeing that the pursuit was conducted in compact and regular order, dispersed a second time, not in collected bodies, but in consternation, flying different ways to remote lurking places, solicitous only for their personal safety, and no longer willing to wait for their fellow-soldiers. Night coming on, the Romans, weary of slaughter, desisted from the pursuit. Ten thousand of the Caledonians fell in this engagement: on the part of the Romans, the number of slain did not exceed three hundred and forty, among whom was Aulus Atticus (*b*), the præfect of a cohort. His own youthful ardour, and the spirit of a high-mettled horse, carried him with too much impetuosity into the thickest of the enemy's ranks.

XXXVIII. THE Roman army, elate with success, and enriched with plunder, passed the night in exultation. The Britons, on the other hand, wandered about, uncertain which way to turn, helpless and disconsolate. The mingled cries of men and women filled the air with lamentations. Some assisted to carry off the wounded; others called for the assistance of such as escaped unhurt;

unhurt ; numbers abandoned their habitations, or, in their phrenzy, set them on fire. They fled to obscure retreats, and, in the moment of choice, deserted them ; they held consultations, and, having inflamed their hopes, changed their minds in despair ; they beheld the pledges of tender affection, and burst into tears ; they viewed them again, and grew fierce with resentment. It is a fact well authenticated, that some laid violent hands upon their wives and children (*a*), determined with savage compassion to end their misery.

The following day displayed to view the nature and importance of the victory. A deep and melancholy silence all around ; the hills deserted ; houses at a distance involved in smoke and fire, and not a mortal discovered by the scouts ; the whole a vast and dreary solitude. Agricola was at length informed by those who were sent out to explore the country, that no trace of the enemy was any where to be seen, and no attempt made in any quarter to muster their forces. Upon this intelligence, as the summer was far advanced, and to continue the war, or extend its operations in that season of the year, was impracticable, he resolved to close the campaign, and march his army into the country of the Horestians (*b*). That people submitted to the conqueror, and delivered hostages for their fidelity. Orders were now issued to the commander of the fleet to make a coasting voyage round the island (*c*). For this expedition a sufficient equipment was made, and the terror of the Roman name had already gone before them. Agricola, in the mean time, led his army into winter-quarters, proceeding at the head of the cavalry and infantry by slow marches, with intent, that, by seeming to linger in the enemy's country, he might impress with terror a people who had but lately submitted to his arms. The fleet, after a prosperous

prosperous voyage, arrived at the Trutulensian harbour (*d*), and, sailing thence along the eastern coast, returned with glory to its former station.

XXXIX. THE account of these transactions, sent to Rome by Agricola, was plain and simple, without any decoration of language to heighten the narrative. Domitian received it in the true spirit of his character, with a smile on his countenance, and malignity at his heart. The mock-parade of his own German triumph (*a*), in which the slaves, whom he had purchased, walked with dishevelled hair, in the dress and manner of captives taken in war, came fresh into his mind. He felt the reproach and ridicule which that frolic occasioned, and the transition was painful to a real victory, attended with a total overthrow of the enemy, and the applause of all ranks of men. He now began to fear that the name of a private citizen might overshadow the imperial title. That reflection planted thorns in his breast. The eloquence of the forum was in vain suppressed; in vain the talents of men and every liberal art were put under an absolute prohibition, if a subject was to rob the prince of all military glory. Superior excellence in every other kind might be endured; but renown in arms belonged to the emperor, as a branch of his prerogative.

By these and such like reflections that restless spirit was distracted. He retired to brood in private over his discontent. His solitude was known to be dangerous. To be alone and innocent was no part of his character. Weary of his retreat (*b*) and his own wounded spirit, he at last resolved to nourish resentment in fullen silence, till the tide of popularity, which attended the general, should ebb away, and the affection of the army had time

to cool. Agricola was still in Britain, and had the command of the army and the province.

XL. DOMITIAN, in the mean time, caused a decree to pass the senate, by which triumphal ornaments (*a*), the honour of a statue crowned with laurel, and all other marks of distinction, usually substituted in the place of a real triumph, were granted to Agricola. The language of compliment was freely lavished on this occasion. The emperor had also the art to circulate a report, that the province of Syria, at that time vacant by the death of Atilius Rufus, an officer of consular rank, was intended for Agricola, in order to do him honour by an appointment always given to men of the highest eminence. It is added as a fact, at that time currently believed, that a commission was actually made out, and sent by a favourite freedman, who was much in the emperor's confidence, to be delivered to Agricola, in case the messenger found him still possessed of his authority in Britain. But the freedman, we are told, met him on his passage in the narrow straits (*b*), and without so much as an interview returned to Rome. For the truth of this anecdote I do not pretend to vouch: it was imagined, perhaps, as a stroke of character, that marked the genius of Domitian. However that may be, Agricola resigned the command, and delivered to his successor (*c*) a quiet and well-ordered government.

Left his arrival at Rome should draw together too great a concourse, he concealed his approach from his friends, and entered the city privately in the dead of night. With the same secrecy, and in the night also, he went, as commanded, to present himself to the emperor. Domitian received him with a cold salute, and,

and, without uttering a word, left the conqueror of Britain to mix with the servile creatures of the court.

The fame of a great military character is always sure to give umbrage to the lazy and inactive. But to soften prejudices, Agricola resolved to shade the lustre of his name in the mild retreat of humble virtues. With this view, he resigned himself to the calm enjoyments of a domestic life. Plain in his apparel (*d*), easy of access, and never attended by more than one or two friends, he was remarkable for nothing but the simplicity of his appearance; infomuch, that they, who knew no criterion of merit but external show and grandeur, as often as they saw Agricola, were still to seek for the great and illustrious character. His modesty was art, which a few only could understand.

XLI, AFTER his recall from Britain, he was frequently accused before Domitian, and as often acquitted, unheard, and without his knowledge. The ground of those clandestine proceedings was neither a crime against the state, nor even an injury done to any individual. His danger rose from a different source; from the heart of a prince, who felt an inward antipathy to every virtue; from the real glory of the man, and from the praises bestowed upon him by those worst of enemies, the dealers in panegyric (*a*).

The fact was, in the distress of public affairs, which soon after followed, the name of Agricola could not be suffered to remain in obscurity. By the rashness or inactivity of the commanders in chief, the armies of the empire were lost (*b*) in Mæsia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia. Every day brought an account of some new misfortune; forts besieged and taken; garrisons stormed, and

and whole cohorts with their commanding officers made prisoners of war. Amidst these disasters the struggle was not to secure the banks of a river (*c*), nor to defend the frontier: the very possession of the provinces, and the winter-quarters of the legions were fiercely disputed. In times like those, when calamity followed calamity, and every successive year was marked by the defeat and slaughter of armies, the voice of the people called aloud for Agricola to be employed in the public service. The vigour of his conduct, his firmness in danger, and his known experience were the general topics, in opposition to the cowardice and insufficiency of other commanders. By remonstrances of the same tendency, it is certain, that the ears of Domitian were often wounded. Amongst his freedmen, those who had the interest of their master at heart, made a fair representation, while others urged the same arguments, not with honest motives, but with an insidious design to exasperate the mind of a tyrant fatally bent on mischief. In this manner Agricola, by his own talents and the treacherous arts of pernicious men, was every day in danger of rising to the precipice of glory.

XLII. THE year was now at hand, in which Agricola was to have by lot the proconsulship (*a*) of Asia or of Africa; but the death of Civica (*b*), who had been lately murdered in his government, gave at once a warning to Agricola, and a precedent to Domitian. At this point of time, the spies of the court thought proper to pay their visits to Agricola. The design of those pretended friends was to discover, whether the government of a province would be acceptable. They contented themselves, in their first approaches, with suggesting to him the value of tranquillity in a private station, and then obligingly undertook, by their interest at court, to obtain permission for him to decline the office.

At length the mask fell off: by adding menaces to their insidious advice, they gained their point, and hurried him away to the presence of the emperor. Domitian knew the part he had to act; with a concerted countenance, and an air of distant pride, he heard Agricola's apology, and complied with his request, conscious of his own treachery, yet receiving thanks for it without a blush *c*). The proconsular salary (*d*), which had been usually granted in like cases, was withheld upon this occasion; perhaps, in resentment because it was not solicited, or the better reason might be, that the prince might not seem to gain by compromise, what he had a right to command.

To hate whom we have injured (*e*) is a propensity of the human mind: in Domitian it was a rooted principle. Prone by nature to sudden acts of rage, if at any time he had the policy to disguise his anger, it was only smothered (*f*), to break out with fiercer rage. And yet that implacable temper was disarmed by the moderation and wisdom of Agricola, who was not in that class of patriots, who conceive, that by a contumacious spirit they shew their zeal for liberty, and think they gain immortal glory, when by rashness they have provoked their fate. By his example the man of heroic fortitude may be informed, that even in the worst of times, and under the most despotic prince, it is possible to be great and good with moderation. He may further learn, that a well managed submission, supported by talents and industry, may rise as high in the public esteem, as many of those who have courted danger, and, without any real advantage to their country, died the victims of pride and vain ambition.

XLIII. THE death of Agricola was felt by his family with
the

the deepest sorrow, by his friends with tender concern, and even by foreigners (*a*), and such as had no knowledge of his person, with universal regret. During his illness, the common people, and that class of men who care little about public events, were constantly at his door, with anxiety making their enquiries. In the forum, and all circular meetings, he was the subject of conversation. When he breathed his last, no man was so hardened as to rejoice at the news. He died lamented, and not soon forgotten. What added to the public affliction, was a report (*b*) that so valuable a life was ended by a dose of poison. No proof of the fact appearing, I leave the story to shift for itself. Thus much is certain; during his illness, instead of formal messages, according to the usual practice of courts, the freedmen most in favour, and the principal physicians of the emperor, were assiduous in their visits. Was this the solicitude of friendship? or, were these men the spies of state?

On the day that closed his life, while he was yet in the agony of death, the quickest intelligence of every symptom was conveyed to Domitian by messengers in waiting for the purpose. That so much industry was exerted to hasten news, which the emperor did not wish to hear, no man believed. As soon as the event was known, Domitian put on an air of sorrow, and even affected to be touched with real regret. The object of his hatred was now no more, and joy was a passion which he could more easily disguise than the fears that distracted him. The will of the deceased gave him entire satisfaction: he was named joint heir with Agricola's excellent wife, and his most dutiful daughter, and this the tyrant considered as a voluntary mark of the testator's love and esteem. A mind like his, debauched and blinded by

continued flattery, could not perceive, that by a good father none but an evil prince is ever called to a share in the succession.

XLIV. AGRICOLA was born on the ides of June, in the third consulship of Caligula; he died on the tenth before the calends of September, during the consulship of Collega and Priscus, in the fifty-sixth year of his age (*a*). As to his person, about which in future times there may be some curiosity, he was of that make and stature, which may be said to be graceful, not majestic. His countenance had not that commanding air which strikes with awe: a sweetness of expression was the prevailing character. You would have been easily convinced that he was a good man, and you would have been willing to believe him a great one.

Though he was snatched away in the vigour of life, yet if we consider the space his glory filled in the eyes of mankind, he may be said to have died full of years. Possessing all the best enjoyments, that spring from virtue, and from virtue only; adorned with every dignity, which either the consular rank or triumphal honours could bestow; what further advantage could he derive from fortune? Immoderate riches he never desired, content with an honourable independance. His wife and daughter left in a state of security, his honours blooming round him, his fame unblemished, his relations flourishing, and every tie of friendship preserved to the last, he may be considered as supremely happy, that he did not live to see the tempestuous times that soon after followed. It is indeed true, that to have reached the present auspicious æra, and to have seen Trajan (*b*) in possession of the imperial dignity, would have been the happy consummation of his wishes. To that effect we have often heard him, with a kind
of

of prophetic spirit, expresses his sentiments ; but to counterbalance his untimely end, it is at least some consolation, that he escaped that black and horrible period, in which Domitian no longer broke out in sudden fits and starts of cruelty, but, throwing off all restraint, proceeded in one continued course of unrelenting fury, as if determined to crush the commonwealth at a blow (*c*).

XLV. AGRICOLA did not live to see the senate-house (*a*) invested by an armed force ; the members of that august assembly surrounded by the prætorian bands ; men of consular rank destroyed in one promiscuous carnage, and a number of illustrious women condemned to exile, or obliged to fly their country. Carus Metius, that detested informer, had as yet gained but a single victory (*b*). The sanguinary voice of Messalinus was heard in the Albanian citadel only (*c*) ; and even Massa Bebius (*d*) was at that time labouring under a prosecution. In a short time after, with our own hands (*e*) we dragged Helvidius to a dungeon ; our eyes beheld the distress and melancholy separation of Mauricus and Rusticus (*f*) ; we were stained with the innocent blood of Senecio (*g*). Even Nero had the grace to turn away his eyes from the horrors of his reign. He commanded deeds of cruelty, but never was a spectator of the scene. Under Domitian, it was our wretched lot to behold the tyrant, and to be seen by him ; while he kept a register of our sighs and groans. With that fiery visage (*h*), of a dye so red, that the blush of guilt could never colour his cheek, he marked the pale languid countenance of the unhappy victims, who shuddered at his frown.

With you, Agricola, we may now congratulate : you are blessed, not only, because your life was a career of glory, but
because

because you were released, when it was happiness to die. From those, who attended your last moments, it is well known, that you met your fate with calm serenity; willing, as far as it depended on the last act of your life, that the prince should appear to be innocent. To your daughter and myself you left a load of affliction. We have lost a parent, and, in our distress, it is now an addition to our heartfelt sorrows, that we had it not in our power to watch the bed of sickness, to soothe the languor of declining nature, to gaze upon you with earnest affection, to see the expiring glance, and receive your last embrace. Your dying words would have been ever dear to us; your commands we should have treasured up, and graved them on our hearts. This sad comfort we have lost, and the wound, for that reason, pierces deeper. Divided from you by a long absence, we had lost you (*i*) four years before. Every tender office, we are well convinced, thou best of parents! was duly performed by a most affectionate wife; but fewer tears bedewed your cold remains, and, in the parting moment, your eyes looked up for other objects, but they looked in vain, and closed for ever.

XLVI. If in another world there is a pious mansion for the blessed (*a*); if, as the wisest men have thought, the soul is not extinguished with the body; may you enjoy a state of eternal felicity! From that station behold your disconsolate family; exalt our minds from fond regret and unavailing grief to the contemplation of your virtues. Those we must not lament; it were impiety to sully them with a tear. To cherish their memory, to embalm them with our praises, and, if our frail condition will permit, to emulate your bright example (*b*), will be the truest mark of our respect, the best tribute your family can offer. Your wife will thus preserve the memory of the best of husbands, and
thus

thus your daughter will prove her filial piety. By dwelling constantly on your words and actions, they will have an illustrious character before their eyes, and, not content with the bare image of your mortal frame, they will have, what is more valuable, the form and features of your mind. I do not mean by this to censure the custom of preserving in brass or marble (*c*) the shape and stature of eminent men; but busts and statues, like their originals, are frail and perishable. The soul is formed of finer elements, and its inward form is not to be expressed by the hand of an artist with unconscious matter: our manners and our morals may in some degree trace the resemblance. All of Agricola, that gained our love, and raised our admiration, still subsists, and will ever subsist, preserved in the minds of men, the register of ages, and the records of fame. Others, who figured on the stage of life, and were the worthies of a former day, will sink, for want of a faithful historian (*d*), into the common lot of oblivion, inglorious, and unremembered; whereas Agricola, delineated with truth, and fairly consigned to posterity (*e*), will survive himself, and triumph over the injuries of time.

T H E E N D.

A
D I A L O G U E
CONCERNING
O R A T O R Y,
OR
THE CAUSES OF CORRUPT ELOQUENCE.

VOL. IV.

P

C O N T E N T S.

- I. *GENERAL introduction, with the reasons for writing an account of the following discourse.* II. *The persons engaged in the dialogue; at first, Curiatius Maternus, Julius Secundus, and Marcus Aper.* III. *Secundus endeavours to dissuade Maternus from thinking any more of dramatic composition.* IV. *Maternus gives his reasons for persisting.* V. *Aper condemns his resolution, and, in point of utility, real happiness, fame and dignity, contends that the oratorical profession is preferable to the poetical.* VIII. *He cites the example of Eprius Marcellus and Crispus Vibius, who raised themselves by their eloquence to the highest honours.* IX. *Poetical fame brings with it no advantage.* X. *He exhorts Maternus to relinquish the muses, and devote his whole time to eloquence and the business of the bar.* XI. *Maternus defends his favourite studies: the pleasures arising from poetry are in their nature innocent and sublime; the fame is extensive and immortal. The poet enjoys the most delightful intercourse with his friends, whereas the life of the public orator is a state of warfare and anxiety.* XIV. *Vipstanius Messala enters the room. He finds his friends engaged in a controversy, and being an admirer of ancient eloquence, he advises Aper to adopt the model of the ancients in preference to the plan of the modern rhetoricians.* XV. *Hence a difference of opinion concerning the merit of the ancients and the moderns. Messala, Secundus, and Maternus, profess themselves admirers of the oratory*

that flourished in the time of the republic. *Aper* launches out against the ancients, and gives the preference to the advocates of his own time. He desires to know who are to be accounted ancients. XVIII. Eloquence has various modes, all changing with the conjuncture of the times. But it is the nature of men to praise the past, and censure the present. The period, when *Cassius Severus* flourished, is stated to be the point of time, at which men cease to be ancients; *Cassius* with good reason deviated from the ancient manner XX. Defects of ancient eloquence: the modern style more refined and elegant. XXI. The character of *Calvus*, *Cælius*, *Cæsar* and *Brutus*, and also of *Asinius Pollio*, and *Messala Corvinus*. XXII. The praise and censure of *Cicero*. XXIII. The true rhetorical art consists in blending the virtues of ancient oratory with the beauties of the modern style. XXIV. *Maternus* observes that there can be no dispute about the superior reputation of the ancient orators: he therefore, calls upon *Messala* to take that point for granted, and proceed to an enquiry into the causes that produced so great an alteration. XXV. After some observations on the eloquence of *Calvus*, *Asinius Pollio*, *Cæsar*, *Cicero*, and others, *Messala* praises *Gracchus* and *Lucius Crassus*, but censures *Mæcenæ*, *Gallio*, and *Cassius Severus*. XXVII. *Maternus* reminds *Messala* of the true point in question; *Messala* proceeds to assign the causes which occasioned the decay of eloquence, such as the dissipation of the young men, the inattention of their parents, the ignorance of rhetorical professors, and the total neglect of ancient discipline. XXXIV. He proceeds to explain the plan of study and the institutions, customs, and various arts by which orators were formed in the time of the republic. XXXV. The defects and vices in the new system of Education. In this part of the dialogue, the sequel of *Messala's*

Messala's discourse is lost, with the whole of what was said by Secundus, and the beginning of Maternus: the supplement goes on from this place, distinguished by inverted commas, and the sections marked with numerical figures. 1. *Messala describes the presumption of the young advocates on their first appearance at the bar; their want of legal knowledge, and the absurd habits which they contracted in the schools of the rhetoricians.* 2. *Eloquence totally ruined by the preceptors.* Messala concludes with desiring Secundus and Maternus to assign the reasons which have occurred to them. 4. *Secundus gives his opinion. The change of government produced a new mode of eloquence. The orators under the emperors endeavoured to be ingenious rather than natural. Seneca the first who introduced a false taste, which still prevailed in the reign of Vespasian.* 8. *Licinius Largus taught the advocates of his time the disgraceful art of hiring applaudors by profession. This was the bane of all true oratory, and, for that reason, Maternus was right in renouncing the forum altogether.* 10. *Maternus acknowledges that he was disgusted by the shameful practices that prevailed at the bar, and therefore resolved to devote the rest of his time to poetry and the muses.* 11. *An apology for the rhetoricians. The praise of Quintilian. True eloquence died with Cicero.* 13. *The loss of liberty was the ruin of genuine oratory. Demosthenes flourished under a free government.* The original goes on from this place to the end of the dialogue. XXXVI. *Eloquence flourishes most in times of public tumult. The crimes of turbulent citizens supply the orator with his best materials.* XXXVII. *In the time of the republic, oratorical talents were necessary qualifications, and without them no man was deemed worthy of being advanced to the magistracy.* XXXVIII. *The Roman orators*

orators were not confined in point of time ; they might extend their speeches to what length they thought proper, and could even adjourn. Pompey abridged the liberty of speech, and limited the time. XXXIX. The very dress of the advocates under the emperors was prejudicial to eloquence. XL. True eloquence springs from the vices of men, and never was known to exist under a calm and settled government. XLI. Eloquence changes with the times. Every age has its own peculiar advantages, and invidious comparisons are unnecessary. XLII. Conclusion of the dialogue.

The time of this dialogue was the sixth of Vespasian's reign.

Year of Rome.	of Christ.	Consuls.
828	75	Vespasian, 6th time; Titus his son, 4th time.

A
D I A L O G U E
C O N C E R N I N G
O R A T O R Y,
O R
THE CAUSES OF CORRUPT ELOQUENCE.

I. **Y**OU have often enquired of me, my good friend, Justus Fabius (*a*), how, and from what causes it has proceeded, that while ancient times display a race of great and splendid orators, the present age, dispirited, and without any claim to the praise of eloquence, has scarcely retained the name of an orator. By that appellation we now distinguish none but those who flourished in a former period. To the eminent of the present day, we give the title of speakers, pleaders, advocates, patrons, in short, every thing but orators.

The enquiry is in its nature delicate; tending, if we are not able to contend with antiquity, to impeach our genius, and, if

we are not willing, to arraign our judgment. An answer to so nice a question is more than I should venture to undertake, were I to rely altogether upon myself: but it happens, that I am able to state the sentiments of men, distinguished by their eloquence, such as it is in modern times; having, in the early part of my life, been present at their conversation on the very subject now before us. What I have to offer, will not be the result of my own thinking: it is the work of memory only; a mere recital of what fell from the most celebrated orators of their time: a set of men, who thought with subtilty, and expressed themselves with energy and precision; each, in his turn, assigning different, but probable causes, at times insisting on the same, and, in the course of the debate, maintaining his own proper character, and the peculiar cast of his mind. What they said upon the occasion, I shall relate, as nearly as may be, in the style and manner of the several speakers, observing always the regular course and order of the controversy. For a controversy it certainly was, where the speakers of the present age did not want an advocate, who supported their cause with zeal, and, after treating antiquity with sufficient freedom, and even derision, assigned the palm of eloquence to the practisers of modern times.

II. CURIATIUS MATERNUS (*a*) gave a public reading of his tragedy of Cato. On the following day a report prevailed, that the piece had given umbrage to the men in power. The author, it was said, had laboured to display his favourite character in the brightest colours; anxious for the fame of his hero, but regardless of himself. This soon became the topic of public conversation. Maternus received a visit from Marcus Aper (*b*) and Julius Secundus (*c*), both men of genius, and the first ornaments of the forum. I was, at that time, a constant attendant on those
eminent

eminent men. I heard them, not only in their scenes of public business, but, feeling an inclination to the same studies, I followed them with all the ardour of youthful emulation. I was admitted to their private parties; I heard their debates, and the amusement of their social hours: I treasured up their wit, and their sentiments on the various topics which they discussed in conversation. Respected as they were, it must, however, be acknowledged, that they did not escape the malignity of criticism. It was objected to Secundus, that he had no command of words, no flow of language; and to Aper, that he was indebted for his fame, not to art or literature, but to the natural powers of a vigorous understanding. The truth is, the style of the former was remarkable for its purity; concise, yet free and copious; and the latter was sufficiently versed in all branches of general erudition. It might be said of him, that he despised literature, not that he wanted it. He thought, perhaps, that, by scorning the aid of letters, and by drawing altogether from his own fund, his fame would stand on a more solid foundation.

III. WE went together to pay our visit to Maternus. Upon entering his study, we found him with the tragedy, which he had read on the preceding day, lying before him. Secundus began: And are you then so little affected by the censure of malignant critics, as to persist in cherishing a tragedy which has given so much offence? Perhaps you are revising the piece, and, after retrenching certain passages, intend to send your Cato into the world, I will not say improved, but certainly less obnoxious. There lies the poem, said Maternus; you may, if you think proper, peruse it with all its imperfections on its head. If Cato has omitted any thing, Thyestes (*a*), at my next reading, shall atone for all deficiencies. I have formed the fable of a tragedy on that

subject: the plan is warm in my imagination, and, that I may give my whole time to it, I now am eager to dispatch an edition of Cato. Marcus Aper interposed: And are you, indeed, so enamoured of your dramatic muse, as to renounce your oratorical character, and the honours of your profession, in order to sacrifice your time, I think it was lately to Medea, and now to Thyestes? Your friends, in the mean time, expect your patronage; the colonies (*b*) invoke your aid, and the municipal cities invite you to the bar. And surely the weight of so many causes may be deemed sufficient, without this new sollicitude imposed upon you by Domitius (*c*) or Cato. And must you thus waste all your time, amusing yourself for ever with scenes of fictitious distress, and still labouring to add to the fables of Greece the incidents and characters of the Roman story?

IV. THE sharpness of that reproof, replied Maternus, would, perhaps, have disconcerted me, if, by frequent repetition, it had not lost its sting. To differ on this subject is grown familiar to us both. Poetry, it seems, is to expect no quarter: you wage an incessant war against the followers of that pleasing art; and I, who am charged with defending my clients, have yet every day the cause of poetry to defend. But we have now a fair opportunity, and I embrace it with pleasure, since we have a person present, of ability to decide between us; a judge, who will either lay me under an injunction to write no more verses, or, as I rather hope, encourage me, by his authority, to renounce for ever the dry employment of forensic causes (in which I have had my share of drudgery), that I may, for the future, be at leisure to cultivate the sublime and sacred eloquence of the tragic muse.

V. SECUNDUS desired to be heard: I am aware, he said, that

that Aper may refuse me as an umpire. Before he states his objections, let me follow the example of all fair and upright judges, who, in particular cases, when they feel a partiality for one of the contending parties, desire to be excused from hearing the cause. The friendship and habitual intercourse, which I have ever cultivated with Saleius Bassus (*a*), that excellent man, and no less excellent poet, are well known : and let me add, if poetry is to be arraigned, I know no client that can offer such handsome bribes.

My business, replied Aper, is not with Saleius Bassus : let him, and all of his description, who, without talents for the bar, devote their time to the muses, pursue their favourite amusement without interruption. But Maternus must not think to escape in the crowd. I single him out from the rest, and, since we are now before a competent judge, I call upon him to answer, how it happens, that a man of his talents, formed by nature to reach the heights of manly eloquence, can think of renouncing a profession, which not only serves to multiply friendships, but to support them with reputation ; a profession, which enables us to conciliate the esteem of foreign nations, and (if we regard our own interest) lays open the road to the first honours of the state ; a profession, which, besides the celebrity that it gives within the walls of Rome, spreads an illustrious name throughout the wide extent of the empire.

If it be wisdom to make the ornament and happiness of life the end and aim of our actions, what can be more advisable than to embrace an art, by which we are enabled to protect our friends ; to defend the cause of strangers ; and succour the distressed ? Nor is this all : the eminent orator is a terror to his enemies : envy

and malice tremble, while they hate him. Secure in his own strength, he knows how to ward off every danger. His own genius is his protection; a perpetual guard, that watches him; an invincible power, that shields him from his enemies.

In the calm seasons of life, the true use of oratory consists in the assistance which it affords to our fellow citizens. We then behold the triumph of eloquence. Have we reason to be alarmed for ourselves? The sword and breast-plate are not a better defence in the heat of battle. It is at once a buckler to cover yourself (*b*), and a weapon to brandish against your enemy. Armed with this, you may appear with courage before the tribunals of justice; in the senate, and even in the presence of the prince. We lately saw (*c*) Eprius Marcellus arraigned before the fathers: in that moment, when the minds of the whole assembly were inflamed against him, what had he to oppose to the vehemence of his enemies, but that nervous eloquence, which he possessed in so eminent a degree? Collected in himself, and looking terror to his enemies, he was more than a match for Helvidius Priscus; a man, no doubt, of consummate wisdom, but without that flow of eloquence, which springs from practice, and that skill in argument, which is necessary to manage a public debate. Such is the advantage of oratory: to enlarge upon it were superfluous. My friend Maternus will not dispute the point.

VI. I PROCEED to the pleasure arising from the exercise of eloquence; a pleasure which does not consist in the mere sensation of the moment, but is felt through life, repeated every day, and almost every hour. For let me ask, to a man of an ingenuous and liberal mind, who knows the relish of elegant enjoyments, what

what can yield such true delight, as a concourse of the most respectable characters crowding to his levee? How must it enhance his pleasure, when he reflects, that the visit is not paid to him, because he is rich, and wants an heir (*a*), or is in possession of a public office, but purely as a compliment to superior talents, a mark of respect to a great and accomplished orator! The rich, who have no issue, and the men in high rank and power, are his followers. Though he is still young, and probably destitute of fortune, all concur in paying their court, to solicit his patronage for themselves, or to recommend their friends to his protection. In the most splendid fortune, in all the dignity and pride of power is there any thing that can equal the heartfelt satisfaction of the able advocate, when he sees the most illustrious citizens, men respected for their years, and flourishing in the opinion of the public, yet paying their court to a rising genius, and, in the midst of wealth and grandeur, fairly owning, that they still want something superior to all their possessions?

What shall be said of the attendants, that follow the young orator from the bar, and watch his motions to his own house? With what importance does he appear to the multitude! In the courts of judicature, with what veneration! When he rises to speak, the audience is hushed in mute attention; every eye is fixed on him alone; the crowd presses round him; he is master of their passions; they are swayed, impelled, directed, as he thinks proper. These are the fruits of eloquence, well known to all, and palpable to every common observer.

There are other pleasures more refined and secret, felt only by the initiated. When the orator, upon some great occasion, comes with a well-digested speech, conscious of his matter, and
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animated by his subject, his breast expands, and heaves with emotions unfelt before. In his joy there is a dignity suited to the weight and energy of the composition which he has prepared. Does he rise to hazard himself (*b*) in a sudden debate? He is alarmed for himself, but in that very alarm there is a mingle of pleasure, which predominates, till distress itself becomes delightful. The mind exults in the prompt exertion of its powers, and even glories in its rashness. The productions of genius, and those of the field have this resemblance: many things are sown, and brought to maturity with toil and care: yet that, which grows from the wild vigour of nature, has the most grateful flavour.

VII. As to myself, if I may allude to my own feelings, the day on which I put on the manly gown (*a*), and even the days that followed, when, as a new man at Rome, born in a city that did not favour my pretensions (*b*), I rose in succession to the offices of quæstor, tribune and prætor; those days, I say, did not awaken in my breast such exalted rapture, as when, in the course of my profession, I was called forth, with such talents as have fallen to my share, to defend the accused; to argue a question of law before the centumviri (*c*), or, in the presence of the prince, to plead for his freedmen and the procurators appointed by himself. Upon those occasions I towered above all places of profit, and all preferment; I looked down on the dignities of tribune, prætor, and consul; I felt within myself, what neither the favour of the great, nor the wills and codicils (*d*) of the rich can give, a vigour of mind, an inward energy, that springs from no external cause, but is altogether your own.

Look through the circle of the fine arts, survey the whole compass of the sciences, and tell me in what branch can the professors

fellors acquire a name to vie with the celebrity of a great and powerful orator. His fame does not depend on the opinion of thinking men, who attend to business and watch the administration of affairs; he is applauded by the youth of Rome, at least by such of them as are of a well turned disposition, and hope to rise by honourable means. The eminent orator is the model which every parent recommends to his children. Even the common people (*e*) stand at gaze, as he passes by; they pronounce his name with pleasure, and point at him as the object of their admiration. The provinces resound with his praise. The strangers, who arrive from all parts, have heard of his genius; they wish to behold the man, and their curiosity is never at rest, till they have seen his person, and perused his countenance.

VIII. I HAVE already mentioned Eprius Marcellus and Crispus Vibius (*a*). I cite living examples, in preference to the names of a former day. Those two illustrious persons, I will be bold to say, are not less known in the remotest parts of the empire, than they are at Capua, or Vercellæ (*b*), where, we are told, they both were born. And to what is their extensive fame to be attributed? Not surely to their immoderate riches. Three hundred thousand sesterces cannot give the fame of genius. Their eloquence may be said to have built up their fortunes; and, indeed, such is the power, I might say the inspiration, of eloquence, that in every age we have examples of men, who by their talents raised themselves to the summit of their ambition.

But I wave all former instances. The two, whom I have mentioned, are not recorded in history, nor are we to glean an imperfect knowledge of them from tradition; they are every
day

day before our eyes. They have risen from low beginnings; but the more abject their origin, and the more fordid the poverty, in which they set out, their success rises in proportion, and affords a striking proof of what I have advanced; since it is apparent, that, without birth or fortune, neither of them recommended by his moral character, and one of them deformed in his person, they have, notwithstanding all disadvantages, made themselves, for a series of years, the first men in the state. They began their career in the forum, and, as long as they chose to pursue that road of ambition, they flourished in the highest reputation; they are now at the head of the commonwealth, the ministers, who direct and govern, and so high in favour with the prince, that the respect, with which he receives them, is little short of veneration.

The truth is, Vespasian (*c*), now in the vale of years, but always open to the voice of truth, clearly sees that the rest of his favourites derive all their lustre from the favours, which his munificence has bestowed; but with Marcellus and Crispus the case is different: they carry into the cabinet, what no prince can give, and no subject can receive. Compared with the advantages which those men possess, what are family-pictures, statues, busts and titles of honour? They are things of a perishable nature, yet not without their value. Marcellus and Vibius know how to estimate them, as they do wealth and honours; and wealth and honours are advantages against which you will easily find men that declaim, but none that in their hearts despise them. Hence it is, that in the houses of all who have distinguished themselves in the career of eloquence, we see titles, statues, and splendid ornaments, the reward of talents, and, at all times, the decorations of the great and powerful orator.

IX. BUT

IX. BUT to come to the point, from which we started: poetry, to which my friend Maternus wishes to dedicate all his time, has none of these advantages. It confers no dignity, nor does it serve any useful purpose. It is attended with some pleasure, but it is the pleasure of a moment, springing from vain applause, and bringing with it no solid advantage. What I have said, and am going to add, may probably, my good friend Maternus, be unwelcome to your ear; and yet I must take the liberty to ask you, if Agamemnon (*a*) or Jason speaks in your piece with dignity of language, what useful consequence follows from it? What client has been defended? Who confesses an obligation? In that whole audience who returns to his own house with a grateful heart? Our friend Saleius Bassus (*b*) is, beyond all question, a poet of eminence, or, to use a warmer expression, he has the god within him: but who attends his levee? who seeks his patronage, or follows in his train? Should he himself, or his intimate friend, or his near relation, happen to be involved in a troublesome litigation, what course do you imagine he would take? He would, most probably, apply to his friend, Secundus; or to you, Maternus; not, because you are a poet; nor yet to obtain a copy of verses from you; of those he has a sufficient stock at home, elegant, it must be owned, and exquisite in the kind. But after all his labour and waste of genius, what is his reward?

When in the course of a year, after toiling day and night, he has brought a single poem to perfection, he is obliged to solicit his friends, and exert his interest, in order to bring together an audience (*c*), so obliging as to hear a recital of the piece. Nor can this be done without expence. A room must be hired, a stage or pulpit must be erected; benches must be arranged, and

hand-bills distributed throughout the city. What if the reading succeeds to the height of his wishes? Pass but a day or two, and the whole harvest of praise and admiration fades away, like a flower that withers in its bloom, and never ripens into fruit. By the event, however flattering, he gains no friend; he obtains no patronage, nor does a single person go away impressed with the idea of an obligation conferred upon him. The poet has been heard with applause; he has been received with acclamations; and he has enjoyed a short-lived transport.

Bassus, it is true, has lately received from Vespasian a present of fifty thousand sesterces. Upon that occasion, we all admired the generosity of the prince. To deserve so distinguished a proof of the sovereign's esteem is, no doubt, highly honourable; but is it not still more honourable, if your circumstances require it, to serve yourself by your talents? to cultivate your genius for your own advantage? and to owe every thing to your own industry, indebted to the bounty of no man whatever? It must not be forgotten, that the poet, who would produce any thing truly excellent in the kind, must bid farewell to the conversation of his friends; he must renounce, not only the pleasures of Rome, but also the duties of social life; he must retire from the world; as the poets say, "to groves and grottos every muse's son." In other words, he must condemn himself to a sequestered life in the gloom of solitude.

X. THE love of fame, it seems, is the passion that inspires the poet's genius: but even in this respect, is he so amply paid as to rival in any degree the professors of the persuasive arts? As to the indifferent poet, men leave him to his own (*a*) mediocrity: the real genius moves in a narrow circle. Let there be a read-
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ing of a poem by the ablest master of his art : will the fame of his performance reach all quarters, I will not say of the empire, but of Rome only ? Among the strangers, who arrive from Spain, from Asia, or from Gaul, who enquires (*b*) after Saleius Bassus ? Should it happen that there is one, who thinks of him ; his curiosity is soon satisfied ; he passes on, content with a transient view, as if he had seen a picture or a statue.

In what I have advanced, let me not be misunderstood : I do not mean to deter such as are not blessed with the gift of oratory, from the practice of their favourite art, if it serves to fill up their time, and gain a degree of reputation. I am an admirer of eloquence (*c*) ; I hold it venerable, and even sacred, in all its shapes, and every mode of composition. The pathetic of tragedy, of which you, Maternus, are so great a master ; the majesty of the epic, the gaiety of the lyric muse ; the wanton elegy, the keen iambic, and the pointed epigram ; all have their charms ; and eloquence, whatever may be the subject which she chooses to adorn, is with me the sublimest faculty, the queen of all the arts and sciences. But this, Maternus, is no apology for you, whose conduct is so extraordinary, that, though formed by nature to reach the summit of perfection (*d*), you choose to wander into devious paths, and rest contented with an humble station in the vale beneath.

Were you a native of Greece, where to exhibit in the public games (*e*) is an honourable employment ; and if the gods had bestowed upon you the force and sinew of the athletic Nicostratus (*f*) ; do you imagine that I could look tamely on, and see that amazing vigour waste itself away in nothing better than the frivolous art of darting the javelin, or throwing the coit ? To drop

the allusion, I summon you from the theatre and public recitals to the business of the forum, to the tribunals of justice, to scenes of real contention, to a conflict worthy of your abilities. You cannot decline the challenge, for you are left without an excuse. You cannot say, with a number of others, that the profession of poetry is safer than that of the public orator, since you have ventured, in a tragedy written with spirit, to display the ardour of a bold and towering genius.

And for whom have you provoked so many enemies? Not for a friend; that would have had alleviating circumstances. You undertook the cause of Cato, and for him committed yourself. You cannot plead, by way of apology, the duty of an advocate, or the sudden effusion of sentiment in the heat and hurry of an unpremeditated speech. Your plan was settled: a great historical personage was your hero, and you chose him, because what falls from so distinguished a character, falls from a height that gives it additional weight. I am aware of your answer: you will say, it was that very circumstance that ensured the success of your piece; the sentiments were received with sympathetic rapture; the room echoed with applause, and hence your fame throughout the city of Rome. Then let us hear no more of your love of quiet and a state of security: you have voluntarily courted danger. For myself, I am content with controversies of a private nature, and the incidents of the present day. If, hurried beyond the bounds of prudence, I should happen, on any occasion, to grate the ears of men in power, the zeal of an advocate, in the service of his client, will excuse the honest freedom of speech, and, perhaps, be deemed a proof of integrity.

XI. APER went through his argument, according to his custom,

custom, with warmth and vehemence. He delivered the whole with a peremptory tone and an eager eye. As soon as he finished, I am prepared, said Maternus smiling, to exhibit a charge against the professors of oratory, which may, perhaps, counterbalance the praise so lavishly bestowed upon them by my friend. In the course of what he said, I was not surprised to see him going out of his way, to lay poor poetry prostrate at his feet. He has, indeed, shewn some kindness to such as are not blessed with oratorical talents. He has passed an act of indulgence in their favour, and they, it seems, are allowed to pursue their favourite studies. For my part, I will not say, that I think myself wholly unqualified for the eloquence of the bar. It may be true, that I have some kind of talent for that profession; but the tragic muse affords superior pleasure. My first attempt was in the reign of Nero, in opposition to the extravagant claims of the prince (*a*), and in defiance of the domineering spirit of Vatinus (*b*), that pernicious favourite, by whose coarse buffoonery the muses were every day disgraced, I might say, most impiously prophaned. The portion of fame, whatever it be, that I have acquired since that time, is to be attributed, not to the speeches which I made in the forum, but to the power of dramatic composition. I have, therefore, resolved to take my leave of the bar for ever. The homage of visitors, the train of attendants, and the multitude of clients, which glitter so much in the eyes of my friend, have no attraction for me. I regard them as I do pictures, and busts, and statues of brass; things, which indeed are in my family, but they came unlooked for, without my stir, or so much as a wish on my part. In my humble station, I find that innocence is a better shield than oratory. For the last I shall have no occasion, unless I find it necessary, on some future occasion, to exert myself in the just defence of an injured friend.

XII. BUT woods, and groves (*a*), and solitary places have not escaped the satyrical vein of my friend. To me they afford sensations of a pure delight. It is there I enjoy the pleasures of a poetic imagination; and among those pleasures it is not the least, that they are pursued far from the noise and bustle of the world, without a client to besiege my doors, and not a criminal to distress me with the tears of affliction. Free from those distractions, the poet retires to scenes of solitude, where peace and innocence reside. In those haunts of contemplation, he has his pleasing visions. He treads on consecrated ground. It was there that eloquence first grew up, and there she reared her temple. In those retreats she first adorned herself with those graces, which have made mankind enamoured of her charms; and there she filled the hearts of the wise and good with joy and inspiration. Oracles first spoke in woods and sacred groves. As to the species of oratory, which practises for lucre, or with views of ambition; that sanguinary eloquence (*b*) now so much in vogue; it is of modern growth, the offspring of corrupt manners, and degenerate times; or rather, as my friend Aper expressed it, it is a WEAPON in the hands of ill-designing men.

The early and more happy period of the world, or, as we poets call it, the golden age, was the æra of true eloquence. Crimes and orators were then unknown. Poetry spoke in harmonious numbers, not to varnish evil deeds, but to praise the virtuous, and celebrate the friends of human kind. This was the poet's office. The inspired train enjoyed the highest honours; they held commerce with the gods; they partook of the ambrosial feast; they were at once the messengers and interpreters of the supreme command. They ranked on earth with legislators, heroes, and demigods. In that bright assembly we find no orator,

no

no pleader of causes. We read of Orpheus (*c*), of Linus, and, if we choose to mount still higher, we can add the name of Apollo himself. This may seem a flight of fancy. Afer will treat it as mere romance, and fabulous history: but he will not deny, that the veneration paid to Homer, with the consent of posterity, is at least equal to the honours obtained by Demosthenes. He must likewise admit, that the fame of Sophocles and Euripides is not confined within narrower limits than that of Lyfias (*d*), or Hyperides. To come home to our own country, there are at this day more who dispute the excellence of Cicero than of Virgil. Among the orations of Afinius or Messala (*e*), is there one that can vie with the Medea of Ovid, or the Thyestes of Varius?

XIII. IF we now consider the happy condition of the true poet, and that easy commerce in which he passes his time, need we fear to compare his situation with that of the boasted orator, who leads a life of anxiety, oppressed by business, and overwhelmed with care? But it is said, his contention, his toil and danger are steps to the consulship. How much more eligible was the soft retreat in which Virgil (*a*) passed his days, loved by the prince, and honoured by the people? To prove this, the letters of Augustus are still extant; and the people, we know, hearing in the theatre some verses of that divine poet (*b*), when he himself was present, rose in a body, and paid him every mark of homage, with a degree of veneration nothing short of what they usually offered to the emperor.

Even in our own times, will any man say, that Secundus Pomponius (*c*), in point of dignity or extent of fame, is inferior to Domitius Afer (*d*)? But Vibius and Marcellus have been cited as bright examples: and yet, in their elevation what is there

there to be coveted? Is it to be deemed an advantage to those ministers, that they are feared by numbers, and live in fear themselves? They are courted for their favours, and the men, who obtain their suit, retire with ingratitude, pleased with their success, yet hating to be obliged. Can we suppose that the man is happy, who by his artifices has wriggled himself into favour, and yet is never thought by his master sufficiently pliant, nor by the people sufficiently free? And after all, what is the amount of all his boasted power? The emperor's freedmen have enjoyed the same. But as Virgil sweetly sings, me let the sacred muses lead to their soft retreats, their living fountains, and melodious groves, where I may dwell remote from care, master of myself, and under no necessity of doing every day what my hearts condemns. Let me no more be seen at the wrangling bar, a pale and anxious candidate for precarious fame; and let neither the tumult of visitors crowding to my levee, nor the eager haste of officious freedmen, disturb my morning rest. Let me live free from solicitude, a stranger to the art of promising legacies (*e*), in order to buy the friendship of the great: and when nature shall give the signal to retire, may I possess no more than may be safely bequeathed to such friends as I shall think proper. At my funeral let no token of sorrow be seen, no pompous mockery of woe. Crown (*f*) me with chaplets; strew flowers on my grave, and let my friends erect no vain memorial, to tell where my remains are lodged.

XIV. MATERNUS finished with an air of enthusiasm, that seemed to lift him above himself. In that moment (*a*), Vipstanius Messala entered the room. From the attention that appeared in every countenance, he concluded that some important business was the subject of debate. I am afraid, said he, that I break in upon you at an unseasonable time? You have some secret to discuss,

cufs, or, perhaps, a consultation upon your hands. Far from it, replied Secundus; I wish you had come sooner. You would have had the pleasure of hearing an eloquent discourse from our friend Aper, who has been endeavouring to persuade Maternus to dedicate all his time to the business of the bar, and to give the whole man to his profession. The answer of Maternus would have entertained you: he has been defending his art, and but this moment closed an animated speech, that held more of the poetical than the oratorical character.

I should have been happy, replied Messala, to have heard both my friends. It is, however, some compensation for the loss, that I find men of their talents, instead of giving all their time to the little subtleties and knotty points of the forum, extending their views to liberal science, and those questions of taste, which enlarge the mind, and furnish it with ideas drawn from the treasures of polite erudition. Enquiries of this kind afford improvement not only to those who enter into the discussion, but to all who have the happiness of being present at the debate. It is in consequence of this refined and elegant way of thinking, that you, Secundus, have gained so much applause, by the life of Julius Asiaticus (*b*), with which you have lately obliged the world. From that specimen we are taught to expect other productions of equal beauty from the same hand. In like manner, I see with pleasure, that our friend Aper loves to enliven his imagination with topics of controversy, and still lays out his leisure in questions of the schools (*c*), not indeed, in imitation of the ancient orators, but in the true taste of our modern rhetoricians.

XV. I AM not surpris'd, returned Aper, at that stroke of
VOL. IV. S raillery.

raillery. It is not enough for Messala, that the oratory of ancient times engrosses all his admiration ; he must have his fling at the moderns. Our talents and our studies are sure to feel the fallies of his pleasantry (*a*). I have often heard you, my friend Messala, in the same humour. According to you, the present age has not a single orator to boast of, though your own eloquence, and that of your brother, are sufficient to refute the charge. But you assert roundly, and maintain your proposition with an air of confidence. You know how high you stand, and while in your general censure of the age you include yourself, the smallest tincture of malignity cannot be supposed to mingle in a decision, which denies to your own genius, what by common consent is allowed to be your undoubted right.

I have as yet, replied Messala, seen no reason to make me retract my opinion ; nor do I believe, that my two friends here, or even you yourself (though you sometimes affect a different tone), can seriously maintain the opposite doctrine. The decline of eloquence is too apparent. The causes, which have contributed to it, merit a serious enquiry. I shall be obliged to you, my friends, for a fair solution of the question. I have often reflected upon the subject ; but what seems to others a full answer, with me serves only to increase the difficulty. What has happened at Rome, I perceive to have been the case in Greece. The modern orators of that country, such as the priest (*b*) Nicetes, and others, who, like him, stun the schools of Mytelene and Ephesus (*c*), are fallen to a greater distance from Æschynes and Demosthenes, than Afer and Africanus (*d*), or you, my friends, from Tully or Asinius Pollio.

XVI. You have started an important question, said Secundus,
and

and who so able to discuss it as yourself? Your talents are equal to the difficulty; your acquisitions in literature are known to be extensive, and you have considered the subject. I have no objection, replied Messala: my ideas are at your service, upon condition that, as I go on, you will assist me with the lights of your understanding. For two of us I can venture to answer, said Maternus: whatever you omit, or rather, what you leave for us to glean after you, we shall be ready to add to your observations. As to our friend Aper, you have told us, that he is apt to differ from you upon this point, and even now I see him preparing to give battle. He will not tamely bear to see us joined in a league in favour of antiquity.

Certainly not, replied Aper, nor shall the present age, unheard and undefended, be degraded by a conspiracy. But before you found to arms, I wish to know, who are to be reckoned among the ancients? At what point of time (*a*) do you fix your favourite æra? When you talk to me of antiquity, I carry my view to the first ages of the world, and see before me Ulysses and Nestor, who flourished little less than (*b*) thirteen hundred years ago. Your retrospect, it seems, goes no farther back than to Demosthenes and Hyperides; men, who lived in the times of Philip and Alexander, and indeed survived them both. The interval, between Demosthenes and the present age, is little more than (*c*) four hundred years; a space of time, which, with a view to the duration of human life, may be called long; but, as a portion of that immense tract of time which includes the different ages of the world, it shrinks into nothing, and seems to be but yesterday. For if it be true, as Cicero says in his treatise called Hortensius, that the great and genuine year is that period in which the heavenly bodies revolve to the station, from which

their course began ; and if this grand rotation of the whole planetary system requires no less than twelve thousand nine hundred and fifty-four years (*d*) of our computation, it follows that Demosthenes, your boasted ancient, becomes a modern, and even our contemporary ; nay, that he lived in the same year with ourselves ; I had almost said, in the same month (*e*).

XVII. BUT I am in haste to pass to our Roman orators. Menenius Agrippa (*a*) may fairly be deemed an ancient. I take it, however, that he is not the person, whom you mean to oppose to the professors of modern eloquence. The æra, which you have in view, is that of (*b*) Cicero and Cæsar ; of Cælius (*c*) and Calvus ; of Brutus (*d*), Afranius and Messala. Those are the men, whom you place in the front of your line ; but for what reason they are to be classed with the ancients, and not, as I think they ought to be, with the moderns, I am still to learn. To begin with Cicero : he, according to the account of Tiro, his freedman, was put to death on the seventh of the ides of December, during the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa (*e*), who, we know, were both cut off in the course of the year, and left their office vacant for Augustus and Quintus Pedius. Count from that time six-and-fifty years, to complete the reign of Augustus ; three-and-twenty for that of Tiberius, four for Caligula, eight-and-twenty for Claudius and Nero, one for Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and finally six from the accession of Vespasian to the present year of our felicity, we shall have from the death of Cicero a period of about (*f*) one hundred and twenty years, which may be considered as the term allotted to the life of man. I myself remember to have seen in Britain a soldier far advanced in years, who averred that he carried arms in that very battle (*g*), in which his countrymen fought to drive Julius Cæsar back from their coast. If this
veteran,

veteran, who served in the defence of his country against Cæsar's invasion, had been brought a prisoner to Rome; or, if his own inclination, or any accident in the course of things had conducted him thither, he might have heard, not only Cæsar and Cicero, but even ourselves in some of our public speeches.

In the late public largesse (*b*) you will acknowledge that you saw several old men, who assured us that they had received more than once, the like distribution from Augustus himself. If that be so, might not those persons have heard Corvinus (*i*) and Asinius? Corvinus, we all know, lived through half the reign of Augustus, and Asinius almost to the end. How then are we to ascertain the just boundaries of a century? They are not to be varied at pleasure, so as to place some orators in a remote, and others in a recent period, while people are still living, who heard them all, and may, therefore, with good reason rank them as contemporaries.

XVIII. FROM what I have said, I assume it as a clear position, that the glory, whatever it be, that accrued to the age in which those orators lived, is not confined to that particular period, but reaches down to the present time, and may more properly be said to belong to us, than to Servius Galba (*a*), or to Carbo (*b*), and others of the same or more ancient date. Of that whole race of orators, I may freely say, that their manner cannot now be relished. Their language is coarse, and their composition rough, uncouth, and harsh; and yet your Calvus (*c*), your Cælius, and even your favourite Cicero condescended to follow that inelegant style. It were to be wished that they had not thought such models worthy of imitation. I mean to speak my mind with freedom; but before I proceed, it will be necessary to make a
preli-

preliminary observation, and it is this: eloquence has no settled form: at different times it puts on a new garb, and changes with the manners and the taste of the age. Thus we find, that Gracchus (*d*), compared with the elder Cato (*e*), is full and copious; but, in his turn, yields to Crassus (*f*), an orator more polished, more correct, and florid. Cicero rises superior to both; more animated, more harmonious and sublime. He is followed by Corvinus (*g*), who has all the softer graces; a sweet flexibility in his style, and a curious felicity in the choice of his words. Which was the greatest orator, is not the question.

The use I make of these examples, is to prove that eloquence does not always wear the same dress, but, even among your celebrated ancients, has its different modes of persuasion. And be it remembered, that what differs is not always the worst. Yet such is the malignity of the human mind, that what has the sanction of antiquity is always admired; what is present, is sure to be condemned. Can we doubt that there have been critics, who were better pleased with Appius Cæcus (*b*) than with Cato? Cicero had his adversaries (*i*): it was objected to him, that his style was redundant, turgid, never compressed, void of precision, and destitute of Attic elegance. We all have read the letters of Calvus and Brutus to your famous orator. In the course of that correspondence we plainly see, what was Cicero's opinion of those eminent men. The former (*k*) appeared to him cold and languid; the latter (*l*), disjointed, loose, and negligent. On the other hand, we know what they thought in return: Calvus did not hesitate to say, that Cicero was diffuse, luxuriant to a fault, and florid without vigour. Brutus, in express terms, says, he was weakened into length, and wanted finew. If you ask my opinion, each of them had reason on his side. I shall hereafter

after examine them separately. My business, at present, is not in the detail : I speak of them in general terms.

XIX. THE æra of ancient oratory is, I think, extended by its admirers no farther back than the time of Cassius Severus (*a*). He, they tell us, was the first, who dared to deviate from the plain and simple style of his predecessors. I admit the fact. He departed from the established forms, not through want of genius, or of learning, but guided by his own good sense and superior judgment. He saw that the public ear was formed to a new manner; and eloquence, he knew, was to find new approaches to the heart. In the early periods of the commonwealth, a rough unpolished people might well be satisfied with the tedious length of unskilful speeches, at a time, when to make an harangue, that took up the whole day, was the orator's highest praise. The prolix exordium, wasting itself in feeble preparation; the circumstantial narration, the ostentatious division of the argument under different heads, and the thousand proofs and logical distinctions, with whatever else is contained in the dry precepts of Hermagoras (*b*) and Apollodorus, were in that rude period received with universal applause. To finish the picture, if your ancient orator could glean a little from the common places of philosophy, and interweave a few shreds and patches with the thread of his discourse, he was extolled to the very skies. Nor can this be matter of wonder: the maxims of the schools had not been divulged; they came with an air of novelty. Even among the orators themselves, there were but few, who had any tincture of philosophy. Nor had they learned the rules of art from the teachers of eloquence.

In the present age, the tenets of philosophy and the precepts

of rhetoric are no longer a secret. The lowest of our popular assemblies are now, I will not say fully instructed, but certainly acquainted with the elements of literature. The orator, by consequence, finds himself obliged to seek new avenues to the heart, and new graces to embellish his discourse, that he may not offend fastidious ears, especially before a tribunal, where the judge is no longer bound by precedent, but determines according to his will and pleasure; not, as formerly, observing the measure of time allowed to the advocate, but taking upon himself to prescribe the limits. Nor is this all: the judge, at present, will not condescend to wait till the orator, in his own way, opens his case; but, of his own authority, reminds him of the point in question, and, if he wanders, calls him back from his digression, not without a hint, that the court wishes to dispatch.

XX. Who, at this time, would bear to hear an advocate introducing himself with a tedious preface about the infirmities of his constitution? Yet that is the thread-bare exordium of Corvinus. We have five books against Verres (*a*). Who can endure that vast redundancy? Who can listen to those endless arguments upon points of form, and cavilling exceptions (*b*), which we find in the orations of the same celebrated advocate for Marcus Tullius (*c*) and Aulus Cæcina? Our modern judges are able to anticipate the argument. Their quickness goes before the speaker. If not struck with the vivacity of his manner, the elegance of his sentiments, and the glowing colours of his descriptions, they soon grow weary of the flat insipid discourse. Even in the lowest class of life, there is now a relish for rich and splendid ornament. Their taste requires the gay, the florid, and the brilliant. The unpolished style of antiquity would now succeed as ill at the bar, as the modern actor, who should attempt
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to copy the deportment of Roscius (*d*) or Ambivius Turpio. Even the young men who are preparing for the career of eloquence, and, for that purpose, attend the forum and the tribunals of justice, have now a nice discriminating taste. They expect to have their imaginations pleased. They wish to carry home some bright illustration, some splendid passage, that deserves to be remembered. What has struck their fancy, they communicate to each other; and in their letters, the glittering thought, given with sententious brevity; the poetical allusion, that enlivened the discourse, and the dazzling imagery, are sure to be transmitted to their respective colonies and provinces. The ornaments of poetic diction are now required, not, indeed, copied from the rude obsolete style of Accius (*e*) and Pacuvius, but embellished with the graces of Horace, Virgil, and (*f*) Lucan. The public judgment has raised a demand for harmonious periods, and, in compliance with the taste of the age, our orators grow every day more polished and adorned. Let it not be said, that what we gain in refinement, we lose in strength. Are the temples, raised by our modern architects, of a weaker structure, because they are not formed with shapeless stones, but with the magnificence of polished marble, and decorations of the richest gilding?

XXI. SHALL I fairly own to you the impression which I generally receive from the ancient orators? They make me laugh, or lull me to sleep. Nor is this the case only, when I read the orations of Canutus (*a*), Arrius, Furnius, Toranius and others of the same school, or rather, the same infirmary (*b*); an emaciated sickly race of orators; without finew, colour, or proportion. But what shall be said of your admired Calvus (*c*)? He, I think, has left no less than one and twenty volumes: in the whole collection, there is not more than one or two short ora-

tions, that can pretend to perfection in the kind. Upon this point there is no difference of opinion. Who now reads his declamations against Afitius or Drusus? His speeches against Vatinius are in the hands of the curious, particularly the second, which must be allowed to be a masterpiece. The language is elegant; the sentiments are striking, and the ear is satisfied with the roundness of the periods. In this specimen we see that he had an idea of just composition, but his genius was not equal to his judgment. The orations of Cælius, though upon the whole defective, are not without their beauties. Some passages are highly finished. In those we acknowledge the nice touches of modern elegance. In general, however, the coarse expression, the halting period, and the vulgarity of the sentiments, have too much of the leaven of antiquity.

If Cælius (*d*) is still admired, it is not, I believe, in any of those parts that bear the mark of a rude illiterate age. With regard to Julius Cæsar (*e*), engaged as he was in projects of vast ambition, we may forgive him the want of that perfection which might, otherwise, be expected from so sublime a genius. Brutus, in like manner, may be excused on account of his philosophical speculations. Both he and Cæsar, in their oratorical attempts, fell short of themselves. Their warmest admirers acknowledge the fact, nor is there an instance to the contrary, unless we except Cæsar's speech for Decius the Samnite (*f*), and that of Brutus for king (*g*) Dejotarus. But are those performances, and some others of the same lukewarm temper, to be received as works of genius? He, who admires those productions, may be left to admire their verses also. For verses they both made, and sent them into the world, I will not say, with more success than

Cicero,

Cicero, but certainly, more to their advantage ; for their poetry had the good fortune to be little known.

Afinius lived near our own times (*b*). He seems to have studied in the old school of Menenius and Appius. He composed tragedies as well as orations, but in a style so harsh and rugged, that one would think him the disciple of Accius and Pacuvius. He mistook the nature of eloquence, which may then be said to have attained its true beauty, when the parts unite with smoothness, strength and proportion. As in the human body the veins should not swell too high, nor the bones and sinews appear too prominent ; but its form is then most graceful, when a pure and temperate blood gives animation (*i*) to the whole frame ; when the muscles have their proper play, and the colour of health is diffused over the several parts. I am not willing to disturb the memory of Corvinus Messala (*k*). If he did not reach the graces of modern composition, the defect does not seem to have sprung from choice. The vigour of his genius was not equal to his judgment.

XXII. I now proceed to Cicero, who, we find, had often upon his hands the very controversy that engages us at present. It was the fashion with his contemporaries to admire the ancients, while he, on the contrary, contended for the eloquence of his own time. Were I to mention the quality that placed him at the head of his rivals, I should say it was the solidity of his judgment. It was he that first shewed a taste for polished and graceful oratory. He was happy in his choice of words, and he had the art of giving weight and harmony to his composition. We find in many passages a warm imagination, and luminous sentences. In his later speeches, he has lively sallies of wit and fancy. Expe-

rience had then matured his judgment, and, after long practice, he found the true oratorical style. In his earlier productions we see the rough cast of antiquity. The exordium is tedious; the narration is drawn into length; luxuriant passages are not retouched with care; he is not easily affected, and he rarely takes fire; his sentiments are not always happily expressed (*a*), nor are the periods closed with energy. There is nothing so highly finished, as to tempt you to avail yourself of a borrowed beauty. In short, his speeches are like a rude building, which is strong and durable, but wants that grace and consonance of parts which give symmetry and perfection to the whole.

In oratory, as in architecture, I require ornament as well as use. From the man of ample fortune, who undertakes to build, we expect elegance and proportion. It is not enough that his house will keep out the wind and the rain; it must strike the eye, and present a pleasing object. Nor will it suffice that the furniture may answer all domestic purposes; it should be rich, fashionable, elegant; it should have gold and gems so curiously wrought, that they will bear examination, often viewed, and always admired. The common utensils, which are either mean or fordid, should be carefully removed out of sight. In like manner, the true orator should avoid the trite and vulgar. Let him reject the antiquated phrase, and whatever is covered with the rust of time; let his sentiments be expressed with spirit, not in careles, ill-constructed, languid periods, like a dull writer of annals; let him banish low scurrility, and, in short, let him know how to diversify his style, that he may not fatigue the ear with a monotony, ending for ever with the same unvaried cadence (*b*).

XXIII. I SHALL say nothing of the false wit, and insipid play
upon

upon words, which we find in Cicero's orations. His pleasant conceits about the *wheel of fortune* (*a*), and the arch raillery on the equivocal meaning of the word VERRES (*b*), do not merit a moment's attention. I omit the perpetual recurrence of the phrase, ESSE VIDEATUR (*c*), which chimes in our ears at the close of so many sentences, sounding big, but signifying nothing. These are petty blemishes; I mention them with reluctance. I say nothing of other defects equally improper: and yet those very defects are the delight of such as affect to call themselves ancient orators. I need not single them out by name: the men are sufficiently known; it is enough to allude, in general terms, to the whole class.

We all are sensible that there is a set of critics now existing, who prefer Lucilius (*d*) to Horace, and Lucretius (*e*) to Virgil; who despise the eloquence of Aufidius Bassus (*f*) and Servilius Nonianus, and yet admire Varro and (*g*) Sisenius. By these pretenders to taste, the works of our modern rhetoricians are thrown by with neglect, and even fastidious disdain; while those of Calvus are held in the highest esteem. We see these men profing in their ancient style before the judges; but we see them left without an audience, deserted by the people, and hardly endured by their clients. The truth is, their cold and spiritless manner has no attraction. They call it sound oratory, but it is want of vigour; like that precarious state of health which weak constitutions preserve by abstinence. What physician will pronounce that a strong habit of body, which requires constant care and anxiety of mind? To say barely, that we are not ill, is surely not enough. True health consists in vigour, a generous warmth, and a certain alacrity in the whole frame. He, who is only not indisposed, is little distant from actual illness.

With you, my friends, the case is different : proceed, as you well can, and in fact, as you do, to adorn our age with all the grace and splendour of true oratory. It is with pleasure, Messala, that I see you selecting for imitation the liveliest models of the ancient school. You too, Maternus, and you, my friend Secundus (*b*), you both possess the happy art of adding to weight of sentiment all the dignity of language. To a copious invention you unite the judgment that knows how to distinguish the specific qualities of different authors. The beauty of order is yours. When the occasion demands it, you can expand and amplify with strength and majesty ; and you know when to be concise with energy. Your periods flow with ease, and your composition has every grace of style and sentiment. You command the passions with resistless sway, while in yourselves you beget a temperance so truly dignified, that, though, perhaps, envy and the malignity of the times may be unwilling to proclaim your merit, posterity will do you ample justice (*i*).

XXIV. As soon as Aper concluded, You see, said Maternus, the zeal and ardour of our friend : in the cause of the moderns, what a torrent of eloquence ! against the ancients, what a fund of invective ! With great spirit, and a vast compass of learning, he has employed against his masters the arts, for which he is indebted to them. And yet all this vehemence must not deter you, Messala, from the performance of your promise. A formal defence of the ancients is by no means necessary. We do not presume to vie with that illustrious race. We have been praised by Aper, but we know our inferiority. He himself is aware of it, though, in imitation of the ancient manner (*a*), he has thought proper, for the sake of a philosophical debate, to take the wrong side of the question. In answer to his argument, we do not
desire

desire you to expatiate in praise of the ancients: their fame wants no addition. What we request is, an investigation of the causes which have produced so rapid a decline from the flourishing state of genuine eloquence. I call it rapid, since, according to Aper's own chronology, the period from the death of Cicero does not exceed one hundred and twenty years (*b*).

XXV. I AM willing, said Messala, to pursue the plan which you have recommended. The question, whether the men, who flourished above one hundred years ago, are to be accounted ancients, has been started by my friend Aper, and, I believe, it is of the first impression. But it is a mere dispute about words. The discussion of it is of no moment, provided it be granted, whether we call them ancients, or our predecessors, or give them any other appellation, that the eloquence of those times was superior to that of the present age. When Aper tells us, that different periods of time have produced new modes of oratory, I see nothing to object; nor shall I deny, that in one and the same period the style and manner have greatly varied. But this I assume, that among the orators of Greece, Demosthenes holds the first rank, and after him (*a*) Æschynes, Hyperides, Lyfias, and Lycurgus, in regular succession. That age, by common consent, is allowed to be the flourishing period of Attic eloquence.

In like manner, Cicero stands at the head of our Roman orators, while Calvus, Asinius, and Cæsar, Cælius and Brutus follow him at a distance; all of them superior, not only to every former age, but to the whole race that came after them. Nor is it material that they differ in the mode, since they all agree in the kind. Calvus is close and nervous; Asinius more open and

harmo-

harmonious; Cæsar is distinguished (*b*) by the splendour of his diction; Cælius by a caustic severity; and gravity is the characteristic of Brutus. Cicero is more luxuriant in amplification, and he has strength and vehemence. They all, however, agree in this: their eloquence is manly, sound, and vigorous. Examine their works, and you will see the energy of congenial minds, a family-likeness in their genius, however it may take a distinct colour from the specific qualities of the men. True, they detracted from each other's merit. In their letters, which are still extant, we find some strokes of mutual hostility. But this littleness does not impeach their eloquence: their jealousy was the infirmity of human nature. Calvus, Asinius, and Cicero might have their fits of animosity, and, no doubt, were liable to envy, malice, and other degrading passions: they were great orators, but they were men.

Brutus is the only one of the set, who may be thought superior to petty contentions. He spoke his mind with freedom, and, I believe, without a tincture of malice. He did not envy Cæsar himself, and can it be imagined that he envied Cicero? As to Galba (*c*), Lælius, and others of a remote period, against whom we have heard Aper's declamation, I need not undertake their defence, since I am willing to acknowledge, that in their style and manner we perceive those defects and blemishes which it is natural to expect, while art, as yet in its infancy, has made no advances towards perfection.

XXVI. AFTER all, if the best form of eloquence must be abandoned, and some new-fangled style must grow into fashion, give me the rapidity of Gracchus (*a*), or the more solemn manner of Crassus (*b*), with all their imperfections, rather than the
effemi-

effeminate delicacy of (*c*) Mæcenas, or the tinkling cymbal (*d*) of Gallio. The most homely dress is preferable to gawdy colours and meretricious ornaments. The style in vogue at present, is an innovation against every thing just and natural: it is not even manly. The luxuriant phrase, the inanity of tuneful periods, and the wanton levity of the whole composition, are fit for nothing but the histrionic art, as if they were written for the stage. To the disgrace of the age (however astonishing it may appear) it is the boast, the pride, the glory of our present orators, that their periods are musical enough either for the dancer's heel (*e*), or the warbler's throat. Hence it is, that by a frequent, but preposterous, metaphor, the orator is said to speak in melodious cadence, and the dancer to move with expression. In this view of things, even (*f*) Cassius Severus (the only modern whom Aper has ventured to name), if we compare him with the race that followed, may be fairly pronounced a legitimate orator, though it must be acknowledged, that in what remains of his composition, he is clumsy without strength, and violent without spirit. He was the first that deviated from the great masters of his art. He despised all method and regular arrangement; indelicate in his choice of words, he paid no regard to decency; eager to attack, he left himself unguarded; he brandished his weapons without skill or address; and, to speak plainly, he wrangled, but did not argue. And yet, notwithstanding these defects, he was, as I have already said, superior to all that came after him, whether we regard the variety of his learning, the urbanity of his wit, or the vigour of his mind. I expected that Aper, after naming this orator, would have drawn up the rest of his forces in regular order. He has fallen, indeed, upon Asinius, Cælius and Calvus; but where are his champions to enter the lists with

them? I imagined that he had a phalanx in reserve, and that we should have seen them man by man giving battle to Cicero, Cæsar, and the rest in succession. He has singled out some of the ancients, but has brought none of his moderns into the field. He thought it enough to give them a good character in their absence. In this, perhaps, he acted with prudence: he was afraid, if he selected a few, that the rest of the tribe would take offence. For among the rhetoricians of the present day, is there one to be found, who does not, in his own opinion, tower above Cicero, though he has the modesty to yield to Gabinianus (g)?

XXVII. WHAT Aper has omitted, I intend to perform. I shall produce his moderns by name, to the end that, by placing the example before our eyes, we may be able, more distinctly, to trace the steps by which the vigour of ancient eloquence has fallen to decay. Maternus interrupted him. I wish, he said, that you would come at once to the point: we claim your promise. The superiority of the ancients is not in question. We want no proof of it. Upon that point my opinion is decided. But the causes of our rapid decline from ancient excellence remain to be unfolded. We know that you have turned your thoughts to this subject, and we expected from you a calm disquisition, had not the violent attack which Aper made upon your favourite orators, roused your spirit, and, perhaps, given you some offence. Far from it, replied Messala; he has given me no offence; nor must you, my friends, take umbrage, if at any time a word should fall from me, not quite agreeable to your way of thinking. We are engaged in a free enquiry, and you know, that, in this kind of debate, the established law allows every man to speak his mind without reserve. That is the law, replied Maternus; you may proceed

proceed in perfect security. When you speak of the ancients, speak of them with ancient freedom, which, I fear, is at a lower ebb than even the genius of those eminent men.

XXVIII. MESSALA resumed his discourse: The causes of the decay of eloquence are by no means difficult to be traced. They are, I believe, well known to you, Maternus, and also to Secundus, not excepting my friend Aper. It seems, however, that I am now, at your request, to unravel the business. But there is no mystery in it. We know that eloquence, with the rest of the polite arts, has lost its former lustre: and yet, it is not a dearth of men, or a decay of talents, that has produced this fatal effect. The true causes are, the dissipation of our young men, the inattention of parents, the ignorance of those who pretend to give instruction, and the total neglect of ancient discipline. The mischief began at Rome, it has over-run all Italy, and is now, with rapid strides, spreading through the provinces. The effects, however, are more visible at home, and, therefore, I shall confine myself to the reigning vices of the capital; vices that wither every virtue in the bud, and continue their baleful influence through every season of life.

But before I enter on the subject, it will not be useless to look back to the system of education that prevailed in former times, and to the strict discipline of our ancestors, in a point of so much moment as the formation of youth. In the times to which I now refer, the son of every family was the legitimate offspring of a virtuous mother. The infant, as soon as born, was not consigned to the mean dwelling of a hireling nurse (*a*), but was reared and cherished in the bosom of a tender parent. To regulate all household affairs, and attend to her infant race, was, at

that time, the glory of the female character. A matron, related to the family, and distinguished by the purity of her life, was chosen to watch the progress of the tender mind. In her presence not one indecent word was uttered; nothing was done against propriety and good manners. The hours of study and serious employment were settled by her direction; and not only so, but even the diversions of the children were conducted with modest reserve and sanctity of manners. Thus it was that Cornelia (*b*), the mother of the Gracchi, superintended the education of her illustrious issue. It was thus that Aurelia (*c*) trained up Julius Cæsar; and thus, Atia (*d*) formed the mind of Augustus. The consequence of this regular discipline was, that the young mind grew up in innocence, unstained by vice, unwarped by irregular passions, and, under that culture, received the seeds of science. Whatever was the peculiar bias, whether to the military art, the study of the laws, or the profession of eloquence, that engrossed the whole attention, and the youth, thus directed, embraced the entire compass of one favourite science.

XXIX. IN the present age, what is our practice? The infant is committed to a Greek chambermaid, and a slave or two, chosen for the purpose, generally the worst of the whole household; all utter strangers to every liberal notion. In that worshipful society (*a*) the youth grows up, imbibing folly and vulgar error. Throughout the house, not one servant cares what he says or does (*b*) in the presence of his young master: and indeed how should it be otherwise? The parents themselves are the first to give their children the worst examples of vice and luxury. The stripling consequently loses all sense of shame, and soon forgets the respect he owes to others as well as to himself. A passion for horses, players and gladiators (*c*) seems to be the

epidemic folly of the times. The child receives it in his mother's womb; he brings it with him into the world; and in a mind so possessed, what room for science, or any generous purpose?

In our houses, at our tables, sports and interludes are the topics of conversation. Enter the places of academical lectures, and who talks of any other subject? The preceptors themselves have caught the contagion. Nor can this be wondered at. To establish a strict and regular discipline, and to succeed by giving proofs of their genius, is not the plan of our modern rhetoricians. They pay their court to the great, and, by servile adulation, increase the number of their pupils. Need I mention the manner of conveying the first elements of school learning? No care is taken to give the student a taste for the best authors (*d*); the page of history lies neglected; the study of men and manners is no part of their system; and every branch of useful knowledge is left uncultivated. A preceptor is called in, and education is then thought to be in fair way. But I shall have occasion hereafter to speak more fully of that class of men, called rhetoricians. It will then be seen, at what period that profession first made its appearance at Rome, and what reception it met with from our ancestors.

XXX. BEFORE I proceed, let us advert for a moment to the plan of ancient discipline. The unwearied diligence of the ancient orators, their habits of meditation, and their daily exercise in the whole circle of arts and sciences, are amply displayed in the books which they have transmitted to us. The treatise of Cicero, intitled Brutus (*a*), is in all our hands. In that work, after commemorating the orators of a former day, he closes the account with the particulars of his own progress in science, and the method.

thod he took in educating himself to the profession of oratory. He studied the civil law under (*b*) Mucius Scævola; he was instructed in the various systems of philosophy, by Philo (*c*) of the academic school, and by Diodorus the stoic; and though Rome, at that time, abounded with the best professors, he made a voyage to Greece (*d*), and thence to Asia, in order to enrich his mind with every branch of learning. Hence that store of knowledge which appears in all his writings. Geometry, music, grammar, and every useful art were familiar to him. He embraced the whole science of logic (*e*) and ethics. He studied the operations of nature. His diligence of enquiry opened to him the long chain of causes and effects, and, in short, the whole system of philosophy was his own. From a mind thus replenished, it is no wonder, my good friends, that we see in the compositions of that extraordinary man that affluence of ideas, and that prodigious flow of eloquence. In fact, it is not with oratory as with the other arts, which are confined to certain objects, and circumscribed within their own peculiar limits. He alone deserves the name of an orator, who can speak in a copious style, with ease or dignity, as the subject requires; who can find language to decorate his argument; who through the passions can command the understanding; and, while he serves mankind, knows how to delight the judgment and the imagination of his audience.

XXXI. SUCH was, in ancient times, the idea of an orator. To form that illustrious character, it was not thought necessary to declaim in the schools of rhetoricians (*a*), or to make a vain parade in fictitious controversies, which were not only void of all reality, but even of a shadow of probability. Our ancestors pursued a different plan: they stored their minds with just ideas of moral good and evil; with the rules of right and wrong, and the fair

fair and foul in human transactions. These, on every controverted point, are the orator's province. In courts of law, just and unjust undergo his discussion; in political debate, between what is expedient and honourable, it is his to draw the line; and those questions are so blended in their nature, that they enter into every cause. On such important topics, who can hope to bring variety of matter, and to dignify that matter with style and sentiment, if he has not, before hand, enlarged his mind with the knowledge of human nature? with the laws of moral obligation? the deformity of vice, the beauty of virtue, and other points which do not immediately belong to the theory of ethics?

The orator, who has enriched his mind with these materials; may be truly said to have acquired the powers of persuasion. He who knows the nature of indignation, will be able to kindle or allay that passion in the breast of the judge; and the advocate, who has considered the effect of compassion, and from what secret springs it flows, will best know how to soften the mind, and melt it into tenderness. It is by these secrets of his art that the orator gains his influence. Whether he has to do with the prejudiced, the angry, the envious, the melancholy, or the timid, he can bridle their various passions, and hold the reins in his own hand. According to the disposition of his audience, he will know when to check the workings of the heart, and when to raise them to their full tumult of emotion.

Some critics are chiefly pleased with that close mode of oratory, which in a laconic manner states the facts, and forms an immediate conclusion: in that case, it is obvious how necessary it is to be a complete master of the rules of logic. Others delight in a more open, free, and copious style, where the arguments
are

are drawn from topics of general knowledge: for this purpose, the peripatetic school (*b*) will supply the orator with ample materials. The academic philosophers (*c*) will inspire him with warmth and energy; Plato will give the sublime, and Xenophon that equal flow which charms us in that amiable writer. The rhetorical figure, which is called exclamation, so frequent with Epicurus (*d*) and Metrodorus, will add to a discourse those sudden breaks of passion, which give motion, strength, and vehemence.

It is not for the stoic school, nor for their imaginary wise man, that I am laying down rules. I am forming an orator, whose business it is, not to adhere to one sect, but to go the round of all the arts and sciences. Accordingly we find, that the great masters of ancient eloquence laid their foundation in a thorough study of the civil law, and to that fund they added grammar, music, and geometry. The fact is, in most of the causes that occur, perhaps in every cause, a due knowledge of the whole system of jurisprudence is an indispensable requisite. There are likewise many subjects of litigation, in which an acquaintance with other sciences is of the highest use.

XXXII. AM I to be told, that to gain some slight information on particular subjects, as occasion may require, will sufficiently answer the purposes of an orator? In answer to this, let it be observed, that the application of what we draw from our own fund, is very different from the use we make of what we borrow. Whether we speak from digested knowledge, or the mere suggestion of others, the effect is soon perceived. Add to this, that conflux of ideas with which the different sciences enrich the mind, gives an air of dignity to whatever we say, even in cases where

where that depth of knowledge is not required. Science adorns the speaker at all times, and, where it is least expected, confers a grace that charms every hearer; the man of erudition feels it, and the unlettered part of the audience acknowledge the effect, without knowing the cause. A murmur of applause ensues; the speaker is allowed to have laid in a store of knowledge; he possesses all the powers of persuasion, and then is called an orator indeed.

I take the liberty to add, if we aspire to that honourable appellation, that there is no way but that which I have chalked out. No man was ever yet a complete orator, and, I affirm, never can be, unless, like the soldier marching to the field of battle, he enters the forum armed at all points with the sciences and the liberal arts. Is that the case in these our modern times? The style, which we hear every day, abounds with colloquial barbarisms, and vulgar phraseology: no knowledge of the laws is heard; our municipal policy is wholly neglected, and even the decrees of the senate are treated with contempt and derision. Moral philosophy is discarded, and the maxims of ancient wisdom are unworthy of their notice. In this manner, eloquence is dethroned; she is banished from her rightful dominions, and obliged to dwell in the cold regions of antithesis, forced conceit, and pointed sentences. The consequence is, that she, who was once the sovereign mistress of the sciences, and led them as handmaids in her train, is now deprived of her attendants, reduced, impoverished, and, stripped of her usual honours (I might say of her genius), compelled to exercise a mere plebeian art.

And now, my friends, I think I have laid open the efficient cause of the decline of eloquence. Need I call witnesses to sup-

port my opinion? I name Demosthenes among the Greeks. He, we are assured, constantly attended (*a*) the lectures of Plato. I name Cicero among the Romans: he tells us (I believe I can repeat his words), that if he attained any degree of excellence, he owed it, not so much to the precepts of rhetoricians, as to his meditations in the walks of the academic school. I am aware that other causes of our present degeneracy may be added; but that task I leave to my friends, since I now may flatter myself that I have performed my promise. In doing it, I fear, that, as often happens to me, I have incurred the danger of giving offence. Were a certain class of men to hear the principles which I have advanced in favour of legal knowledge and sound philosophy, I should expect to be told that I have been all the time commending my own visionary schemes.

XXXIII. You will excuse me, replied Maternus, if I take the liberty to say, that you have by no means finished your part of our enquiry. You seem to have spread your canvas, and to have touched the outlines of your plan; but there are other parts that still require the colouring of so masterly a hand. The stores of knowledge, with which the ancients enlarged their minds, you have fairly explained, and, in contrast to that pleasing picture, you have given us a true draught of modern ignorance. But we now wish to know, what were the exercises, and what the discipline, by which the youth of former times prepared themselves for the honours of their profession. It will not, I believe, be contended, that theory, and systems of art, are of themselves sufficient to form a genuine orator. It is by practice, and by constant exertion that the faculty of speech improves, till the genius of the man expands, and flourishes in its full vigour. This, I think, you will not deny, and my two friends, if I may judge

judge by their looks, seem to give their assent. *Aper* and *Secundus* agreed without hesitation.

Messala proceeded as follows: Having, as I conceive, shewn the seed-plots of ancient eloquence, and the fountains of science, from which they drew such copious streams; it remains now to give some idea of the labour, the assiduity, and the exercises, by which they trained themselves to their profession. I need not observe, that in the pursuit of science, method and constant exercise are indispensable: for who can hope, without regular attention, to master abstract schemes of philosophy, and embrace the whole compass of the sciences? Knowledge must be grafted in the mind by frequent meditation (*a*); to that must be added the faculty of conveying our ideas; and, to make sure of our impression, we must be able to adorn our thoughts with the colours of true eloquence. Hence it is evident that the same arts, by which the mind lays in its stock of knowledge, must be still pursued, in order to attain a clear and graceful manner of conveying that knowledge to others. This may be thought refined and too abstruse. If, however, we are still to be told that science and elocution are things in themselves distinct and unrelated; this, at least, may be assumed, that he, who, with a fund of previous knowledge, undertakes the province of oratory, will bring with him a mind well seasoned, and duly prepared for the study and exercise of real eloquence.

XXXIV. THE practice of our ancestors was agreeable to this theory. The youth, who was intended for public declamation, went forth, under the care of his father, or some near relation, with all the advantages of home-discipline; his mind was expanded by the fine arts, and impregnated with science. He was con-

ducted to the most eminent orator of the time. Under that illustrious patronage, he visited the forum ; he attended his patron upon all occasions ; he listened with attention to his pleadings in the tribunals of justice, and his public harangues before the people ; he heard him in the warmth of argument ; he noted his sudden replies, and thus, in the field of battle, if I may so express myself, he learned the first rudiments of rhetorical warfare. The advantages of this method are obvious : the young candidate gained courage, and improved his judgment ; he studied in open day, amidst the heat of the conflict, where nothing weak or idle could be said with impunity ; where every thing absurd was instantly rebuked by the judge, exposed to ridicule by the adversary, and condemned by the whole bar.

In this manner the student was initiated in the rules of sound and manly eloquence ; and, though it be true, that he placed himself under the auspices of one orator only, he heard the rest in their turn, and in that diversity of tastes which always prevails in mixed assemblies, he was enabled to distinguish what was excellent or defective in the kind. The orator in actual business was the best preceptor : the instructions which he gave, were living eloquence, the substance, and not the shadow. He was himself a real combatant, engaged with a zealous antagonist, both in earnest, and not like gladiators, in a mock contest, fighting for prizes. It was a struggle for victory, before an audience always changing, yet always full ; where the speaker had his enemies as well as his admirers ; and between both, what was brilliant met with applause ; what was defective, was sure to be condemned. In this clash of opinions, the genuine orator flourished, and acquired that lasting fame, which, we all know, does not depend on the voice of friends only, but must rebound from the benches

benches filled with your enemies. Extorted applause is the best suffrage.

In that school, the youth of expectation, such as I have delineated, was reared and educated by the most eminent genius of the times. In the forum, he was enlightened by the experience of others; he was instructed in the knowledge of the laws, accustomed to the eye of the judges, habituated to the looks of a numerous audience, and acquainted with the popular taste. After this preparation, he was called forth to conduct a prosecution, or to take upon himself the whole weight of the defence. The fruit of his application was then seen at once. He was equal, in his first outset, to the most arduous business. Thus it was that Crassus, at the age of nineteen (*a*), stood forth the accuser of Papirius Carbo: thus Julius Cæsar, at one-and-twenty, arraigned Dolabella; Asinius Pollio, about the same age, attacked Caius Cato; and Calvus, but a little older, flamed out against Vatinius. Their several speeches are still extant, and we all read them with admiration.

XXXV. IN opposition to this system of education, what is our modern practice? Our young men are led (*a*) to academical prolusions in the schools of vain professors, who call themselves rhetoricians; a race of impostors, who made their first appearance at Rome, not long before the days of Cicero. That they were unwelcome visitors, is evident from the circumstance of their being silenced by the two censors (*b*), Crassus and Domitius. They were ordered, says Cicero, to shut up their school of impudence. Those scenes, however, are open at present, and there our young students listen to mountebank oratory. I am at a loss how to determine which is most fatal to all true genius,

the place itself, the company that frequent it, or the plan of study universally adopted. Can the place impress the mind with awe and respect, where none are ever seen but the raw, the unskilful, and the ignorant? In such an assembly what advantage can arise? Boys harangue before boys, and young men exhibit before their fellows. The speaker is pleased with his declamation, and the hearer with his judgment. The very subjects on which they display their talents, tend to no useful purpose. They are of two sorts, persuasive or controversial. The first, supposed to be of the lighter kind, are usually assigned to the youngest scholars: the last are reserved for students of longer practice and riper judgment. But, gracious powers! what are the compositions produced on these occasions?

The subject is remote from truth, and even probability, unlike any thing that ever happened in human life: and no wonder if the superstructure perfectly agrees with the foundation. It is to these scenic exercises that we owe a number of frivolous topics, such as the reward due to the slayer of a tyrant; the election to be made by (*c*) violated virgins; the rites and ceremonies proper to be used during a raging pestilence; the loose behaviour of married women; with other fictitious subjects, hackneyed in the schools, and seldom or never heard of in our courts of justice. These imaginary questions are treated with gawdy flourishes, and all the tumor of unnatural language. But after all this mighty parade, call these striplings from their schools of rhetoric, into the presence of the judges, and to the real business of the bar (*d*):

1. "WHAT figure will they make before that solemn judicature?
- "Trained up in chimerical exercises, strangers to the municipal
- "laws, unacquainted with the principles of natural justice and

"the

“ the rights of nations, they will bring with them that false taste
 “ which they have been for years acquiring, but nothing worthy
 “ of the public ear, nothing useful to their clients. They have
 “ succeeded in nothing but the art of making themselves ridi-
 “ culous. The peculiar quality of the teacher (*a*), whatever it
 “ be, is sure to transfuse itself into the performance of the pupil.
 “ Is the master haughty, fierce, and arrogant? The scholar swells
 “ with confidence; his eye threatens prodigious things, and his
 “ harangue is an ostentatious display of the common places of
 “ school oratory, dressed up with dazzling splendour, and thundered
 “ forth with emphasis. On the other hand, does the master
 “ value himself for the delicacy of his taste, for the foppery of
 “ glittering conceits and tinsel ornament? The youth who
 “ has been educated under him, sets out with the same artificial
 “ prettiness, the same foppery of style and manner. A simper
 “ plays on his countenance; his elocution is soft and delicate;
 “ his action pathetic; his sentences entangled in a maze of sweet
 “ perplexity; he plays off the whole of his theatrical skill, and
 “ hopes to elevate and surprise.

2. “ THIS love of finery, this ambition to shine and glitter,
 “ has destroyed all true eloquence. Oratory is not the child of
 “ hireling teachers: it springs from another source, from a love
 “ of liberty, from a mind replete with moral science, and a tho-
 “ rough knowledge of the laws; from a due respect for the best
 “ examples, from profound meditation (*a*), and a style formed
 “ by constant practice. While these were thought essential requi-
 “ sites, eloquence flourished. But the true beauties of language
 “ fell into disuse, and oratory went to ruin. The spirit evapo-
 “ rated, I fear, to revive no more. I wish I may prove a false
 “ prophet, but we know the progress of art in every age and
 “ country.

“ country. Rude at first, it rises from low beginnings, and goes
 “ on improving, till it reaches the highest perfection in the kind.
 “ But at that point it is never stationary: it soon declines, and
 “ from the corruption of what is good, it is not in the nature of
 “ man, nor in the power of human faculties, to rise again to the
 “ same degree of excellence.

3. “ MESSALA closed with a degree of vehemence, and then
 “ turning to Maternus and Secundus (*a*), it is yours, he said, to
 “ pursue this train of argument; or, if any cause of the decay
 “ of eloquence lies still deeper, you will oblige us by bringing it
 “ to light. Maternus, I presume, will find no difficulty: a
 “ poetic genius holds commerce with the gods, and to him
 “ nothing will remain a secret. As for Secundus, he has been
 “ long a shining ornament of the forum, and by his own expe-
 “ rience knows how to distinguish genuine eloquence from the
 “ corrupt and vicious. Maternus heard this sally of his friend’s
 “ good humour with a smile. The task, he said, which you
 “ have imposed upon us, we will endeavour to execute. But
 “ though I am the interpreter of the gods, I must, notwithstand-
 “ ing, request that Secundus may take the lead. He is master
 “ of the subject, and, in questions of this kind, experience is better
 “ than inspiration.

4. “ SECUNDUS (*a*) complied with his friend’s request. I
 “ yield, he said, the more willingly, as I shall hazard no new
 “ opinion, but rather confirm what has been urged by Messala.
 “ It is certain, that, as painters are formed by painters, and poets
 “ by the example of poets, so the young orator must learn his art
 “ from orators only. In the schools of rhetoricians (*b*), who think
 “ themselves the fountain-head of eloquence, every thing is false
 “ and

“ and vitiated. The true principles of the persuasive art are never
 “ known to the professor, or, if at any time there may be found
 “ a preceptor of superior genius, can it be expected that he shall
 “ be able to transfuse into the mind of his pupil all his own con-
 “ ceptions, pure, unmixed, and free from error. The sensibility
 “ of the master, since we have allowed him genius, will be an
 “ impediment: the uniformity of the same dull tedious round
 “ will give him disgust, and the student will turn from it with
 “ aversion. And yet I am inclined to think, that the decay of
 “ eloquence would not have been so rapid, if other causes, more
 “ fatal than the corruption of the schools, had not co-operated.
 “ When the worst models became the objects of imitation, and
 “ not only the young men of the age, but even the whole body
 “ of the people admired the new way of speaking, eloquence
 “ fell at once into that state of degeneracy, from which nothing
 “ can recover it. We, who came afterwards, found ourselves
 “ in a hopeless situation: we were driven to wretched expedients,
 “ to forced conceits, and the glitter of frivolous sentences; we
 “ were obliged to hunt after wit, when we could be no longer
 “ eloquent. By what pernicious examples this was accomplished,
 “ has been explained by our friend Meffala.

5. “ WE are none of us strangers to those unhappy times,
 “ when Rome, grown weary of her vast renown in arms, began
 “ to think of striking into new paths of fame, no longer willing
 “ to depend on the glory of our ancestors. The whole power of
 “ the state was centred in a single ruler, and, by the policy of
 “ the prince, men were taught to think no more of ancient
 “ honour. Invention was on the stretch for novelty, and all
 “ looked for something better than perfection; something rare,
 “ far-fetched, and exquisite. New modes of pleasure were de-

“vifed. In that period of luxury and diffipation, when the
 “rage for new inventions was grown epidemic, Seneca arofe.
 “His talents were of a peculiar fort, acute, refined, and polished;
 “but polished to a degree that made him prefer affectation and
 “wit to truth and nature. The predominance of his genius was
 “great, and, by confequence, he gave the mortal ftab to all true
 “eloquence (*a*). When I fay this, let me not be fufpected of
 “that low malignity which would tarnifh the fame of a great
 “character. I admire the man, and the philofopher. The un-
 “daunted firmnefs with which he braved the tyrant’s frown,
 “will do immortal honour to his memory. But the fact is, and
 “why fhould I difguife it? the virtues of the writer have undone
 “his country.

6. “To bring about this unhappy revolution, no man was fo
 “eminently qualified (*a*). His underftanding was large and com-
 “prehenfive; his genius rich and powerful; his way of think-
 “ing ingenious, elegant, and even charming. His refearches in
 “moral philofophy excited the admiration of all; and moral
 “philofophy is never fo highly praifed, as when the manners are
 “in a ftate of degeneracy. Seneca knew the tafte of the times.
 “He had the art to gratify the public ear. His ftyle is neat, yet
 “animated; concise, yet clear; familiar, yet feldom inelegant.
 “Free from redundancy, his periods are often abrupt, but they
 “furprife by their vivacity. He fhines in pointed fentences, and
 “that unceafing perfecution of vice, which is kept up with un-
 “common ardour, fpreads a luftre over all his writings. His
 “brilliant ftyle charmed by its novelty. Every page sparkles
 “with wit, with gay allufions, and fentiments of virtue. No
 “wonder that the graceful eafe, and fometimes the dignity of his
 “expreflion, made their way into the forum. What pleased uni-
 “verfally,

“versally, soon found a number of imitators. Add to this the
 “advantages of rank and honours. He mixed in the splendour,
 “and, perhaps, in the vices of the court. The resentment of
 “Caligula, and the acts of oppression which soon after followed,
 “served only to adorn his name. To crown all, Nero was his
 “pupil, and his murderer. Hence the character and genius of
 “the man rose to the highest eminence. What was admired,
 “was imitated, and true oratory was heard no more. The love
 “of novelty prevailed, and for the dignified simplicity of ancient
 “eloquence no taste remained. The art itself, and all its necessary
 “discipline, became ridiculous. In that black period, when
 “vice triumphed at large, and virtue had every thing to fear, the
 “temper of the times was propitious to the corruptors of taste
 “and liberal science. The dignity of composition was no longer
 “of use. It had no power to stop the torrent of vice which
 “deluged the city of Rome, and virtue found it a feeble pro-
 “tection. In such a conjuncture it was not safe to speak the
 “sentiments of the heart. To be obscure, abrupt, and dark, was
 “the best expedient. Then it was that the affected sententious
 “brevity came into vogue. To speak concisely, and with an air
 “of precipitation, was the general practice. To work the ruin
 “of a person accused, a single sentence, or a splendid phrase was
 “sufficient. Men defended themselves in a short brilliant expres-
 “sion; and if that did not protect them, they died with a lively apo-
 “thegm, and their last words were wit. This was the fashion
 “introduced by Seneca. The peculiar, but agreeable vices of
 “his style wrought the downfall of eloquence. The solid was
 “exchanged for the brilliant, and they, who ceased to be orators,
 “studied to be ingenious.

7. “OF late, indeed, we have seen the dawn of better times.

“In the course of the last six years Vespasian has revived our
 “ hopes (*a*). The friend of regular manners, and the encourager
 “ of ancient virtue, by which Rome was raised to the highest
 “ pinnacle of glory, he has restored the public peace, and with it
 “ the blessings of liberty. Under his propitious influence, the
 “ arts and sciences begin once more to flourish, and genius has
 “ been honoured with his munificence. The example of his
 “ sons (*b*) has helped to kindle a spirit of emulation. We beheld,
 “ with pleasure, the two princes adding to the dignity of their
 “ rank, and their fame in arms, all the grace and elegance of
 “ polite literature. But it is fatally true, that when the public
 “ taste is once corrupted, the mind, which has been warped,
 “ seldom recovers its former tone. This difficulty was rendered
 “ still more insurmountable by the licentious spirit of our young
 “ men, and the popular applause, that encouraged the false taste
 “ of the times. I need not, in this company, call to mind the
 “ unbridled presumption, with which, as soon as genuine elo-
 “ quence expired, the young men of the age took possession of
 “ the forum. Of modest worth and ancient manners nothing
 “ remained. We know that in former times the youthful can-
 “ didate was introduced in the forum by a person of consular
 “ rank (*c*), and by him set forward in his road to fame. That
 “ laudable custom being at an end, all fences were thrown down:
 “ no sense of shame remained, no respect for the tribunals of
 “ justice. The aspiring genius wanted no patronage; he scorned
 “ the usual forms of a regular introduction; and, with full confi-
 “ dence in his own powers, he obtruded himself on the court.
 “ Neither the solemnity of the place, nor the sanctity of laws,
 “ nor the importance of the oratorical character, could restrain
 “ the impetuosity of young ambition. Unconscious of the im-
 “ portance of the undertaking, and less sensible of his own inca-
 “ pacity,

“ pacity, the bold adventurer rushed at once into the most arduous
 “ business. Arrogance supplied the place of talents.

8. “ To oppose the torrent, that bore down every thing, the
 “ danger of losing all fair and honest fame was the only circum-
 “ stance that could afford a ray of hope. But even that slender
 “ fence was soon removed by the arts of (*a*) Largius Licinius.
 “ He was the first that opened a new road to ambition. He
 “ intrigued for fame, and filled the benches with an audience
 “ suborned to applaud his declamations. He had his circle round
 “ him, and shouts of approbation followed. It was upon that
 “ occasion that Domitius Afer (*b*) emphatically said, Eloquence
 “ is now at the last gasp. It had, indeed, at that time shewn
 “ manifest symptoms of decay, but its total ruin may be dated
 “ from the introduction of a mercenary band (*c*) to flatter and
 “ applaud. If we except a chosen few, whose superior genius
 “ has not as yet been seduced from truth and nature, the rest
 “ are followed by their partisans, like actors on the stage, sub-
 “ sisting altogether on the bought suffrages of mean and prostitute
 “ hirelings. Nor is this sordid traffic carried on with secrecy :
 “ we see the bargain made in the face of the court ; the bribe is
 “ distributed with as little ceremony as if they were in a private
 “ party at the orator’s own house. Having sold their voices,
 “ this venal crew rush forward from one tribunal to another, the
 “ distributors of fame, and the sole judges of literary merit. The
 “ practice is, no doubt, disgraceful. To brand it with infamy,
 “ two new terms have been invented (*d*), one in the Greek
 “ language, importing the venders of praise, and the other in
 “ the Latin idiom, signifying the parasites who sell their applause
 “ for a supper. But sarcastic expressions have not been able to
 “ cure the mischief: the applauders by profession have taken
 “ courage,

“courage, and the name, which was intended as a stroke of
 “ridicule, is now become an honourable appellation.

9. “THIS infamous practice rages at present with increas-
 “ing violence. The party no longer consists of freeborn citizens;
 “our very slaves are hired. Even before they arrive at full age,
 “we see them distributing the rewards of eloquence. Without
 “attending to what is said, and without sense enough to under-
 “stand, they are sure to crowd the courts of justice, whenever
 “a raw young man, stung with the love of fame, but without
 “talents to deserve it, obtrudes himself in the character of an
 “advocate. The hall resounds with acclamations, or rather with
 “a kind of bellowing; for I know not by what term to express
 “that savage uproar, which would disgrace a theatre.

“Upon the whole, when I consider these infamous practices,
 “which have brought so much dishonour upon a liberal pro-
 “fession, I am far from wondering that you, Maternus, judged
 “it time to found your retreat. When you could no longer attend
 “with honour, you did well, my friend, to devote yourself
 “entirely to the muses. And now, since you are to close the
 “debate, permit me to request, that, besides unfolding the causes
 “of corrupt eloquence, you will fairly tell us, whether you enter-
 “tain any hopes of better times, and, if you do, by what means
 “a reformation may be accomplished.

10. “IT is true (*a*), said Maternus, that seeing the forum
 “deluged by an inundation of vices, I was glad, as my friend
 “expressed it, to found my retreat. I saw corruption rushing on
 “with hasty strides, too shameful to be defended, and too pow-
 “erful to be resisted. And yet, though urged by all those mo-
 “tives,

“ tives, I should hardly have renounced the business of the bar,
 “ if the bias of my nature had not inclined me to other studies.
 “ I balanced, however, for some time. It was, at first, my fixed
 “ resolution to stand to the last a poor remnant of that integrity and
 “ manly eloquence, which still lingered at the bar, and shewed some
 “ signs of life. It was my intention to emulate not, indeed, with
 “ equal powers, but certainly with equal firmness, the bright
 “ models of ancient times, and, in that course of practice, to
 “ defend the fortunes, the dignity, and the innocence of my
 “ fellow-citizens. But the strong impulse of inclination was not
 “ to be resisted. I laid down my arms, and deserted to the safe
 “ and tranquil camp of the muses. But though a deserter, I
 “ have not quite forgot the service in which I was enlisted. I
 “ honour the professors of real eloquence, and that sentiment, I
 “ hope, will be always warm in my heart.

II. “ IN my solitary walks and moments of meditation, it
 “ often happens, that I fall into a train of thinking on the flourish-
 “ ing state of ancient eloquence, and the abject condition to
 “ which it is reduced in modern times. The result of my re-
 “ flections I shall venture to unfold, not with a spirit of contro-
 “ versy, nor yet dogmatically to enforce my own opinion. I may
 “ differ in some points, but from a collision of sentiments it is
 “ possible that some new light may be struck out. My friend
 “ Aper will, therefore, excuse me, if I do not, with him, prefer
 “ the false glitter of the moderns to the solid vigour of ancient
 “ genius. At the same time, it is not my intention to disparage
 “ his friends. Messala too, whom you, Secundus, have closely
 “ followed, will forgive me, if I do not, in every thing, coincide
 “ with his opinion. The vices of the forum, which you have
 “ both, as becomes men of integrity, attacked with vehemence,
 “ will

“ will not have me for their apologist. But still I may be allowed
 “ to ask, have you not been too much exasperated against the
 “ rhetoricians ?

“ I WILL not say in their favour, that I think them equal to the
 “ task of reviving the honours of eloquence; but I have known
 “ among them, men of unblemished morals, of regular discipline,
 “ great erudition, and talents every way fit to form the minds of
 “ youth to a just taste for science and the persuasive arts. In this
 “ number one in particular (*a*) has lately shone forth with supe-
 “ rior lustre. From his abilities, all that is in the power of man
 “ may fairly be expected. A genius like his would have been
 “ the ornament of better times. Posterity will admire and honour
 “ him. And yet I would not have Secundus amuse himself with
 “ ill-grounded hopes : neither the learning of that most excellent
 “ man, nor the industry of such as may follow him, will be
 “ able to promote the interests of eloquence, or to establish her
 “ former glory. It is a lost cause. Before the vices which have
 “ been so ably described, had spread a general infection, all true
 “ oratory was at an end. The revolutions in our government,
 “ and the violence of the times, began the mischief, and, in the
 “ end, gave the fatal blow.

12. “ NOR are we to wonder at this event. In the course of
 “ human affairs there is no stability, nothing secure or perma-
 “ nent. It is with our minds as with our bodies : the latter, as
 “ soon as they have attained their full growth, and seem to
 “ flourish in the vigour of health, begin, from that moment, to
 “ feel the gradual approaches of decay. Our intellectual powers
 “ proceed in the same manner ; they gain strength by degrees,
 “ they arrive at maturity, and, when they can no longer improve,
 “ they

“they languish, droop, and fade away. This is the law of
 “nature, to which every age, and every nation, of which we
 “have any historical records, have been obliged to submit. There
 “is besides another general law, hard perhaps, but wonderfully
 “ordained, and it is this: nature, whose operations are always
 “simple and uniform, never suffers in any age or country, more
 “than one great example of perfection in the kind (*a.*) This was
 “the case in Greece, that prolific parent of genius and of science.
 “She had but one Homer, one Plato, one Demosthenes. The
 “same has happened at Rome: Virgil stands at the head of his
 “art, and Cicero is still unrivalled. During a space of seven
 “hundred years our ancestors were struggling to reach the sum-
 “mit of perfection: Cicero at length arose; he thundered forth
 “his immortal energy, and nature was satisfied with the wonder
 “she had made. The force of genius could go no further. A
 “new road to fame was to be found. We aimed at wit, and
 “gay conceit, and glittering sentences. The change, indeed,
 “was great, but it naturally followed the new form of govern-
 “ment. Genius died with public liberty.

13. “WE find that the discourse of men always conforms to
 “the temper of the times. Among savage nations (*a.*) language is
 “never copious. A few words serve the purpose of barbarians,
 “and those are always uncouth and harsh, without the artifice
 “of connection; short, abrupt, and nervous. In a state of
 “polished society, where a single ruler sways the sceptre, the
 “powers of the mind take a softer tone, and language grows
 “more refined. But affectation follows, and precision gives way
 “to delicacy. The just and natural expression is no longer the
 “fashion. Living in ease and luxury, men look for elegance,
 “and hope by novelty to give a grace to adulation. In other
 “nations

“ nations, where the first principles of the civil union are main-
 “ tained in vigour ; where the people live under the government
 “ of laws, and not the will of man ; where the spirit of liberty
 “ pervades all ranks and orders of the state ; where every indi-
 “ vidual holds himself bound, at the hazard of his life, to defend
 “ the constitution framed by his ancestors ; where, without being
 “ guilty of an impious crime, no man dares to violate the rights
 “ of the whole community ; in such a state, the national elo-
 “ quence will be prompt, bold, and animated. Should internal
 “ dissensions shake the public peace, or foreign enemies threaten
 “ to invade the land, eloquence comes forth arrayed in terror ;
 “ she wields her thunder, and commands all hearts. It is true,
 “ that upon those occasions men of ambition endeavour, for their
 “ own purposes, to spread the flame of sedition ; while the good
 “ and virtuous combine their force to quell the turbulent, and
 “ repel the menaces of a foreign enemy. Liberty gains new
 “ strength by the conflict, and the true patriot has the glory of
 “ serving his country, distinguished by his valour in the field,
 “ and in debate, no less terrible by his eloquence.

14. “ HENCE it is that in free governments we see a con-
 “ stellation of orators. Hence Demosthenes displayed the powers
 “ of his amazing genius, and acquired immortal honour. He
 “ saw a quick and lively people, dissolved in luxury, open to the
 “ seductions of wealth, and ready to submit to a master ; he saw
 “ a great and warlike monarch threatening destruction to the
 “ liberties of his country ; he saw that prince at the head of
 “ powerful armies, renowned for victory, possessed of an opulent
 “ treasury, formidable in battle, and, by his secret arts, still more
 “ so in the cabinet ; he saw that king, inflamed by ambition and
 “ the lust of dominion, determined to destroy the liberties of
 “ Greece.

“ Greece. It was that alarming crisis that called forth the powers
 “ of Demosthenes. Armed with eloquence, and with eloquence
 “ only, he stood as a bulwark against a combination of enemies
 “ foreign and domestic. He roused his countrymen from their
 “ lethargy ; he kindled the holy flame of liberty ; he coun-
 “ teracted the machinations of Philip, detected his clandestine
 “ frauds, and fired the men of Athens with indignation. To
 “ effect these generous purposes, and defeat the policy of a subtle
 “ enemy, what powers of mind were necessary ! how vast, how
 “ copious, how sublime ! He thundered and lightened in his dis-
 “ course ; he faced every danger with undaunted resolution.
 “ Difficulties served only to inspire him with new ardour. The
 “ love of his country glowed in his heart ; liberty roused all his
 “ powers, and fame held forth her immortal wreath to reward
 “ his labours. These were the fine incentives that roused his
 “ genius, and no wonder that his mind expanded with vast con-
 “ ceptions. He thought for his country, and, by consequence,
 “ every sentiment was sublime ; every expression was grand and
 “ magnificent.”

XXXVI. THE true spirit of genuine eloquence (*a*), like an intense fire, is kept alive by fresh materials : every new commotion gives it vigour, and in proportion as it burns, it expands and brightens to a purer flame. The same causes at Rome produced the same effect. Tempestuous times called forth the genius of our ancestors. The moderns, it is true, have taken fire, and rose above themselves, as often as a quiet, settled, and uniform government gave a fair opportunity ; but eloquence, it is certain, flourishes most under a bold and turbulent democracy, where the ambitious citizen, who best can mould to his purposes a fierce and contentions multitude, is sure to be the idol of the people.

In the conflict of parties, that kept our ancestors in agitation; laws were multiplied; the leading chiefs were the favourite demagogues; the magistrates were often engaged in midnight debate; eminent citizens were brought to a public trial; families were set at variance; the nobles were split into factions, and the senate waged incessant war against the people. Hence that flame of eloquence which blazed out under the republican government, and hence that constant fuel that kept the flame alive.

The state, it is true, was often thrown into convulsions; but talents were exercised, and genius opened the way to public honours. He who possessed the powers of persuasion, rose to eminence, and by the arts, which gave him popularity, he was sure to eclipse his colleagues. He strengthened his interest with the leading men, and gained weight and influence not only in the senate, but in all assemblies of the people. Foreign nations (*b*) courted his friendship. The magistrates, setting out for their provinces, made it their business to ingratiate themselves with the popular speaker, and, at their return, took care to renew their homage. The powerful orator had no occasion to solicit for preferment: the offices of prætor and consul stood open to receive him. He was invited to those exalted stations. Even in the rank of a private citizen he had a considerable share of power, since his authority swayed at once the senate and the people. It was in those days a settled maxim, that no man could either rise to dignities, or support himself in office, without possessing, in an eminent degree, a power of words, and dignity of language.

Nor can this be matter of wonder, when we recollect, that persons of distinguished genius were, on various occasions, called forth by the voice of the people, and in their presence obliged to

act

act an important part. Eloquence was the ruling passion of all. The reason is, it was not then sufficient merely to vote in the senate; it was necessary to support that vote with strength of reasoning, and a flow of language. Moreover, in all prosecutions, the party accused was expected to make his defence in person, and to examine the witnesses (*c*), who at that time were not allowed to speak in written depositions, but were obliged to give their testimony in open court. In this manner, necessity, no less than the temptation of bright rewards, conspired to make men cultivate the arts of oratory. He who was known to possess the powers of speech, was held in the highest veneration. The mute and silent character fell into contempt. The dread of shame was a motive not less powerful than the ambition that aimed at honours. To sink into the humiliating rank of a client, instead of maintaining the dignity of a patron, was a degrading thought. Men were unwilling to see the followers of their ancestors transferred to other families for protection. Above all, they dreaded the disgrace of being thought unworthy of civil honours; and, if by intrigue they attained their wishes, the fear of being despised for incapacity was a spur to quicken their ardour in the pursuit of literary fame and commanding eloquence.

XXXVII. I DO not know whether you have as yet seen the historical memoirs which Mucianus (*a*) has collected, and lately published, containing, in eleven volumes, the transactions of the times, and, in three more, the letters of eminent men who figured on the stage of public business. This portion of history is well authenticated by the original papers, still extant in the libraries of the curious. From this valuable collection it appears, that Pompey and Crassus (*b*) owed their elevation as much to their talents as to their fame in arms; and that Lentulus (*c*), Metellus,

tellus, Lucullus, Curio, and others of that class, took care to enlarge their minds, and distinguish themselves by their powers of speech. To say all in one word, no man, in those times, rose to eminence in the state, who had not given proof of his genius in the forum and the tribunals of justice.

To this it may be added, that the importance, the splendour, and magnitude of the questions discussed in that period, served to animate the public orator. The subject, beyond all doubt, lifts the mind above itself: it gives vigour to sentiment, and energy to expression. Let the topic be a paltry theft, a dry form of pleading, or a petty misdemeanor; will not the orator feel himself cramped and chilled by the meanness of the question? Give him a cause of magnitude, such as bribery in the election of magistrates, a charge for plundering the allies of Rome, or the murder of Roman citizens, how different then his emotions! how sublime each sentiment! what dignity of language! The effect, it must be admitted, springs from the disasters of society. It is true, that form of government, in which no such evils occur, must, beyond all question, be allowed to be the best; but since, in the course of human affairs, sudden convulsions must happen, my position is, that they produced, at Rome, that flame of eloquence which at this hour is so much admired. The mind of the orator grows and expands with his subject. Without ample materials no splendid oration was ever yet produced. Demosthenes, I believe, did not owe his vast reputation to the speeches which he made against his guardians (*d*); nor was it either the oration in defence of Quinctius, or that for Archias the poet, that established the character of Cicero. It was Catiline, it was Verres, it was Milo and Mark Antony, that spread so much glory round him.

Let

Let me not be misunderstood: I do not say, that for the sake of hearing a bright display of eloquence, it is fit that the public peace should be disturbed by the machinations of turbulent and lawless men. But, not to lose sight of the question before us, let it be remembered, that we are enquiring about an art which thrives and flourishes most in tempestuous times. It were, no doubt, better that the public should enjoy the sweets of peace, than be harassed by the calamities of war: but still it is war that produces the soldier and the great commander. It is the same with eloquence. The oftener she is obliged, if I may so express it, to take the field, the more frequent the engagement, in which she gives and receives alternate wounds; and the more formidable her adversary, the more she rises in pomp and grandeur, and returns from the warfare of the forum crowned with unfading laurels. He, who encounters danger, is ever sure to win the suffrages of mankind. For such is the nature of the human mind, that, in general, we choose a state of security for ourselves, but never fail to gaze with admiration on the man, whom we see, in the conflict of parties, facing his adversaries, and surmounting difficulties.

XXXVIII. I PROCEED to another advantage of the ancient forum; I mean the form of proceeding and the rules of practice observed in those days. Our modern custom is, I grant, more conducive to truth and justice; but that of former times gave to eloquence a free career, and, by consequence, greater weight and splendour. The advocate was not, as now, confined to a few hours (*a*); he might adjourn as often as it suited his convenience; he might expatiate, as his genius prompted him: and the number of days, like that of the several patrons, was unlimited.

Pompey.

Pompey was the first, who circumscribed the genius of men within narrower limits (*b*). In his third consulship he gave a check to eloquence, and, as it were, bridled its spirit, but still left all causes to be tried according to law in the forum, and before the prætors. The importance of the business, which was decided in that course of justice, will be evident, if we compare it with the transactions before the centumvirs (*c*), who at present have cognizance of all matters whatever. We have not so much as one oration of Cicero, or Cæsar; of Brutus, Cælius, or Calvus, or any other person famous for his eloquence, which was delivered before the last-mentioned jurisdiction, excepting only the speeches of Asinius Pollio (*d*)⁶ for the heirs of Urbinia. But those speeches were delivered about the middle of the reign of Augustus, when, after a long peace with foreign nations, and a profound tranquillity at home, that wise and politic prince had conquered all opposition, and not only triumphed over party and faction, but subdued eloquence itself.

XXXIX. WHAT I am going to say will appear, perhaps, too minute; it may border on the ridiculous, and excite your mirth: with all my heart; I will hazard it for that very reason. The dress now in use at the bar has an air of meanness: the speaker is confined in a close robe (*a*), and loses all the grace of action. The very courts of judicature are another objection; all causes are heard, at present, in little narrow rooms, where spirit and strenuous exertion are unnecessary. The orator, like a generous steed, requires liberty and ample space: before a scanty tribunal his spirit droops, and the dulness of the scene damps the powers of genius. Add to this, we pay no attention to style; and indeed how should we? No time is allowed for the beauties of

composition: the judge calls upon you to begin, and you must obey, liable, at the same time, to frequent interruptions, while documents are read, and witnesses examined.

During all this formality, what kind of an audience has the orator to invigorate his faculties? Two or three stragglers drop in by chance, and to them the whole business seems to be transacted in solitude. But the orator requires a different scene. He delights in clamour, tumult, and bursts of applause. Eloquence must have her theatre, as was the case in ancient times, when the forum was crowded with the first men in Rome; when a numerous train of clients pressed forward with eager expectation; when the people, in their several tribes; when ambassadors from the colonies, and a great part of Italy attended to hear the debate; in short, when all Rome was interested in the event. We know that in the cases of Cornelius, Scaurus, Milo, Bestia, and Vatinius, the concourse was so great, that those several causes were tried before the whole body of the people. A scene so vast and magnificent was enough to inflame the most languid orator. The speeches delivered upon those occasions are in every body's hands, and, by their intrinsic excellence, we of this day estimate the genius of the respective authors.

XL. IF we now consider the frequent assemblies of the people, and the right of prosecuting the most eminent men in the state; if we reflect on the glory, that sprung from the declared hostility of the most illustrious characters; if we recollect, that even Scipio, Sylla, and Pompey were not sheltered from the storms of eloquence, what a number of causes shall we see conspiring to rouse the spirit of the ancient forum? The malignity of the human heart, always adverse to superior characters, encouraged the orator

to persist. The very players, by farcastic allusions to men in power, gratified the public ear, and, by consequence, sharpened the wit and acrimony of the bold declaimer.

Need I observe to you, that in all I have said, I have not been speaking of that temperate faculty (*a*) which delights in quiet times, supported by its own integrity, and the virtues of moderation? I speak of popular eloquence, the genuine offspring of that licentiousness, to which fools and ill-designing men have given the name of liberty: I speak of bold and turbulent oratory, that inflamer of the people, and constant companion of sedition; that fierce incendiary, that knows no compliance, and scorns to temporise; busy, rash and arrogant, but, in quiet and well regulated governments utterly unknown. Who ever heard of an orator at Crete or Lacedæmon? In those states a system of rigorous discipline was established by the first principles of the constitution. Macedonian and Persian eloquence are equally unknown. The same may be said of every country, where the plan of government was fixed and uniform.

At Rhodes, indeed, and also at Athens, orators existed without number, and the reason is, in those communities the people directed every thing; a giddy multitude governed, and, to say the truth, all things were in the power of all. In like manner, while Rome was engaged in one perpetual scene of contention; while parties, factions, and internal divisions convulsed the state; no peace in the forum, in the senate no union of sentiment; while the tribunals of justice acted without moderation; while the magistrates knew no bounds, and no man paid respect to eminent merit; in such times it must be acknowledged that Rome produced a race of noble orators; as in the wild uncultivated field

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the richest vegetables will often shoot up, and flourish with uncommon vigour. And yet it is fair to ask, could all the eloquence of the Gracchi atone for the laws which they imposed on their country? Could the fame, which Cicero obtained by his eloquence, compensate for the tragic end to which it brought him (*b*)?

XLI. THE forum, at present, is the last sad relick of ancient oratory. But does that epitome of former greatness give the idea of a city so well regulated, that we may rest contented with our form of government, without wishing for a reformation of abuses? If we except the man of guilt, or such as labour under the hard hand of oppression, who resorts to us for our assistance? If a municipal city applies for protection, it is, when the inhabitants, harassed by the adjacent states, or rent and torn by intestine divisions, sue for protection. The province, that addresses the senate for a redress of grievances, has been oppressed and plundered, before we hear of the complaint. It is true, we vindicate the injured, but to suffer no oppression would surely be better than to obtain relief. Find, if you can, in any part of the world a wise and happy community, where no man offends against the laws: in such a nation what can be the use of oratory? You may as well profess the healing art, where ill health is never known. Let men enjoy bodily vigour, and the practice of physic will have no encouragement. In like manner, where sober manners prevail, and submission to the authority of government is the national virtue, the powers of persuasion are rendered useless. Eloquence has lost her field of glory. In the senate, what need of elaborate speeches, when all good men are already of one mind? What occasion for studied harangues before a popular assembly, where

the form of government leaves nothing to the decision of a wild democracy, but the whole administration is conducted by the wisdom of a single ruler? And again; when crimes are rare, and in fact of no great moment, what avails the boasted right of individuals to commence a voluntary prosecution? What necessity for a studied defence, often composed in a style of vehemence, artfully addressed to the passions, and generally stretched beyond all bounds, when justice is executed in mercy, and the judge is of himself disposed to succour the distressed?

Believe me, my very good, and (as far as the times will admit) my eloquent friends, had it been your lot to live under the old republic, and the men, whom we so much admire, had been reserved for the present age; if some god had changed the period of theirs and your existence, the flame of genius had been yours, and the chiefs of antiquity would now be acting with minds subdued to the temper of the times. Upon the whole, since no man can enjoy a state of calm tranquillity, and, at the same time, raise a great and splendid reputation; to be content with the benefits of the age in which we live, without detracting from our ancestors, is the virtue that best becomes us.

XLII. MATERNUS concluded (*a*) his discourse. There have been, said Messala, some points advanced, to which I do not entirely accede; and others, which I think require farther explanation. But the day is well nigh spent. We will, therefore, adjourn the debate. Be it as you think proper, replied Maternus; and if, in what I have said, you find any thing not sufficiently clear, we will adjust those matters in some future conference. Hereupon he rose from his seat, and embracing Aper,
I am

I am afraid, he said, that it will fare hardly with you, my good friend. I shall cite you to answer before the poets, and Meffala will arraign you at the bar of the antiquarians. And I, replied Aper, shall make reprisals on you both before the school-professors and the rhetoricians. This occasioned some mirth and raillery. We laughed, and parted in good humour.

END OF THE DIALOGUE.

N O T E S

O N

T H E M A N N E R S

O F

T H E G E R M A N S.

N O T E S

O N

T H E M A N N E R S

O F

T H E G E R M A N S.

THE time when the treatise on the German Manners was written, is fixed by Lipsius in the fourth consulship of Nerva, and the second of Trajan, A. U. C. 851, A. D. 98. A passage in section 37, where Tacitus mentions the second consulship of Trajan, clearly shews that the piece was composed in that year, or soon after. It is a draught of savage manners, delineated by a masterly hand; the more interesting, as the part of the world which it describes was the seminary of the modern European nations; the VAGINA GENTIUM, as historians have emphatically called it. The work is short, but, as Montesquieu observes, it is the work of a man, who abridged every thing,

because he knew every thing. It is for this reason that the following notes have swelled to a size, which may, at first sight, appear unwieldy: but the subject merits attention; it calls for something more than mere cursory observation. If the present writer has collected with diligence; if the brevity of the author be explained; if his facts receive full confirmation from the following illustrations; the enquiry will not be thought to be mere ostentation or vain parade. A thorough knowledge of the transactions of barbarous ages will throw more light than is generally imagined on the laws of modern times. Wherever the barbarians, who issued from their northern hive, settled in new habitations, they carried with them their native genius, their original manners, and the first rudiments of the political system which has prevailed in different parts of Europe. They established monarchy and liberty; subordination and freedom; the prerogative of the prince and the rights of the subject; all united in so bold a combination, that the fabric in some places stands to this hour the wonder of mankind. The British constitution, says Montesquieu, came out of the woods of Germany. What the state of this country was before the arrival of our Saxon ancestors, Tacitus has shewn in the Life of Agricola. If we add to his account what has been transmitted to us concerning the Germans and Britons by Julius Cæsar, we shall see the origin of the Anglo-Saxon government, the great outline of that Gothic constitution, under which the people enjoy their rights and liberties at this hour. Montesquieu, speaking of his own country, declares it impossible to form an adequate notion of the French monarchy, and the changes of their government, without a previous enquiry into the manners, genius, and spirit of the German nations. Much of what was incorporated with the institutions of those fierce invaders, has flowed down in the stream of
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of time, and still mingles with our modern jurisprudence. It is true, that in the progress of society, arts and sciences have diffused new lights, and the civil union being, by consequence, better understood, milder laws and more polished manners have well-nigh effaced all traces of barbarism; but still it will not be unpleasant, nor indeed useless, to go back to those days of ignorance. We shall view the waters at their fountain-head dark, foul, and muddy; but by following them downward, we shall see them working themselves clear, and purified, at length, to a clear and limpid current. We shall gain a knowledge of the origin of laws, while we read the history of the human mind. The subject, it is conceived, is interesting to every Briton. The following notes are, therefore, offered without further apology for their length. In the manners of the Germans the reader will see our present frame of government, as it were, in its cradle; *gentis cunabula nostræ!* The antiquarian, who has already made his researches, will, perhaps, find little novelty; but to those who have not had leisure or curiosity, the following annotations may open new veins of knowledge and reflection. They will lead to a better acquaintance with a fierce and warlike people, to whom this country owes that spirit of liberty, which through so many centuries has preserved our excellent form of government, and raised the glory of the British nation.

Genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altæ mœnia Romæ.

Section I.

(a) It is material in this place to observe, that Augustus Cæsar divided part of Belgic Gaul into two provinces, distinguished by the names of Upper and Lower Germany. Many

of the new settlers in those parts were originally Germans, and, when the whole country was reduced under subjection to the Roman empire, the people, unwilling to pass for natives of Gaul, still retained their original name. Those two provinces called the Upper and Lower Germany, being, in fact, part of Gaul, are not comprised in the account given by Tacitus. He speaks of ancient Germany, called *Germania Antiqua*, or *Barbara*; of Germany on the eastern side of the Rhine, *Germania Transrhenana*; bounded, on the west by the Rhine; on the south, by the Danube; on the east, by the Vistula, or Weiffel, and the mountains of Sarmatia; and finally by the Northern Ocean, including the Baltic, and the gulfs of Bothnia and Finland.

(*b*) Gaul, according to Cæsar, was divided into three parts, namely, 1. Belgic Gaul, bounded by the Seine, the Marne, the mountains of Vauge, the Rhine, and the Ocean. 2dly, Celtic Gaul, bounded by the Ocean, the Seine, the Marne, the Soane, the Rhone, and the Garonne. 3dly. Aquitania, bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the Garonne, and the Pyrenees.

Rhætia was bounded towards the east by the Alps; by Italy towards the south; by the Rhine on the west; and by the country of the Vindelici towards the north. It is now the country of the Grisons.

Pannonia was an extensive country, having Dalmatia on the south, Illyricum on the west, Mæsia on the east, and the Danube on the north. And thus, as Tacitus says, Germany is divided from Gaul by the Rhine, and from Rhætia and Pannonia by the Danube.

(*c*) Dacia,

(c) Dacia, in a short time after Tacitus wrote this treatise, was reduced by the emperor Trajan to a Roman province. It lay on the other side of the Danube, extending northward to the Carpathian mountains, comprising part of Upper Hungary, Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia.

Sarmatia was formerly divided into European and Asiatic. The European division is here intended by Tacitus. It had the Vistula, or Weiffel, and a chain of mountains, for its western boundary, and extended to the northern parts of Europe, comprising Livonia, Lithuania, Russia, and Crim Tartary.

The mountains, which in part divided these nations from Germany, are now called the Carpathian mountains, running between Poland, Hungary, and Transylvania.

(d) The Baltic Sea was, probably, thought in the time of Tacitus to be the Northern Ocean. The deep gulfs were those of Bothnia and Finland. Sweden, Norway, and Finland, were anciently called Scandinavia, and supposed by the Romans to be a large island.

(e) Before the expeditions of Drusus and his son Germanicus, the Romans had not pierced far into Germany. Drusus, A. U. C. 744, advanced with his fleet as far as the promontory of the Cimbrians, who inhabited the country now called Jutland. Tacitus wrote his treatise about one hundred and eight years afterwards, and not less than eighty years after the war in Germany under the conduct of Germanicus. That commander carried his victorious arms into parts of the country unexplored before. It is probable that some further discoveries were made in the time of Domitian.

(f) The Rhætian Alps are now called the Mountains of the Grisons; that, in particular, from which the Rhine issues, is called Vogelberg. This celebrated river flows in one regular channel, embracing a few small islands in its course, till it reaches the island of the Batavians, where it divides itself into two branches, one washing the eastern side of Germany, and the other forming the boundary of Gaul. For a further account of this river, see *Annals*, ii. l. 6. See also this tract, l. 29. and note (a).

(g) The mountain Abnoba is called by the Germans Schwartzwald, and by the French the Black Forest, la Forêt Noire. Brotier (to whose learned labours this work is greatly indebted) refers to the volumes of Count Marsili, who discovered the fountain-head of the Danube and the Rhine in 1702. Before that time Doneschingen was erroneously called the fountain-head of the Danube. That famous river, from its first spring as far as Vienna, retained the name of the Danube; but according to Pliny, as soon as it reached ILLYRICUM, and thence to its mouth, where it discharges itself into the Euxine, or Black Sea, it was called the Ister. Brotier adds, that the Danube preserves its course through the Euxine into the Mediterranean, distinguished all the way by the clearness of the current; and the ships, he says, from the Ægean Sea (now the Archipelago) as far as the Propontic (the Sea of Marmora), can with difficulty make head against the force of so rapid a stream. For this fact he quotes the Letters of a Missioner of the Jesuits, published in 1713. Pliny the elder has left a similar account. He says, *Singula Istris ora tanta sunt, ut prodatur in quadraginta millia passuum vinci mare, dulcemque intelligi haustum.* See Pliny, lib. iv. l. 24.

Section

Section II.

(a) The inhabitants of every nation, that had no literary monuments, were by the ancients deemed the immediate offspring of the soil. The world is now better informed. Asia is considered as the country where the numbers of mankind multiplied with rapid increase, and thence overflowing into Scythia, peopled the northern regions of Europe. Under which of the sons of Noah that vast migration was formed, it is now fruitless to inquire. Antiquarians have amused themselves with systems founded on vain opinions, and, having no historical records, they have wandered in a maze of wild conjecture, without contributing to the stock of real knowledge.

(b) In this passage a mistake seems to be justly imputed to Tacitus. The first migrations could not be made by sea in those early ages, when the use of shipping was little known. As soon as population increased in Asia, the redundant multitude went forth in quest of new settlements, and poured into Scythia, Sarmatia, Hungary, and Poland, and thence into Germany. When navigation began to be in some degree understood, colonies were transplanted by sea. It was by sea that Cecrops conveyed his people from Ægypt into Greece, and it was in the same manner that the Phœnicians transported their colonies to the coast of Africa. But migrations must have been made before those events, and the northern parts of Europe were peopled long before.

(c) In the time of Tacitus, a voyage from Italy to the Northern Ocean would have been an enterprise too wild and daring. Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was the first Roman commander who ventured to explore those seas. *Oceanum septentrionalem*

trionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit, says Suetonius, Life of Claudius, f. 1 ; but it is not pretended that he sailed from Italy. His voyage, without doubt, began from some port of Gaul or Germany, and reached the point of Jutland. His son Germanicus, many years after, made the same attempt, but with great difficulty and danger. See *Annals*, ii. f. 23.

(d) This is by no means a satisfactory reason for the position advanced by Tacitus, namely, that the Germans were the indigenous offspring of the soil. In those remote ages, when the numbers of one nation overflowed into another, the object was not the most delightful country, but the safest habitation. Asia, Italy, and some parts of Africa afforded delightful spots ; but to men who could not find a settlement in those regions, even Germany, which appears so horrid to Tacitus, was not without its conveniences. The people escaped from oriental despotism, and lived in freedom. A freehold, says Addison, though it be but in ice and snow, will make the owner pleased with the possession, and stout in the defence of it. Germany was the land of liberty and heroic fortitude. What men lost of their sensual gratifications, they gained in virtue : as Brotier expresses it, *Si quid decessit voluptati, accrevit humanitati*.

(e) Songs and rude poetry have been in all savage countries the memorials of public transactions. Kings and heroes were the poets and historians of the Scythian, the Celtic, and the northern nations. Saxo Grammaticus and other writers inform us, that they drew their materials from Runic songs, or Icelandic poetry. The Gauls had their druids, the priests and philosophers of the nation, who preserved their doctrine by oral tradition and verses committed to memory only. The Germans had

had their BARDS, who in their songs recorded all public transactions, and sung the praises of their warriors and illustrious men. At all feasts and public assemblies the bards were the panegyrists of exalted merit. The same was the case in Britain, Wales, and Ireland. The songs of the bards were the prelude to battle; they inspired the chiefs with enthusiastic ardour. When Edward I. formed the plan of reducing Wales to subjection, he thought it necessary to destroy all the bards. The Scandinavians had their poets, or SCALDS, whose business it was to compose odes or songs, in which they celebrated the warlike achievements of their ancestors. The praises which those poets gave to valour, the enthusiasm which animated their verses, and the care which the people took to learn them from their infancy, all conspired to rouse the martial spirit of their armies. *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 223. The American savages have their war-songs and rude poetry, in which they sing the praises of the gallant chiefs, who have fought or died for their country. Garcilasso de la Vega says, that, in writing his History of Peru, he availed himself of old songs and ballads, which a princess of the race of their *Incas* taught him to get by heart in his infancy. Tacitus tells us, that Arminius, long after his death, was remembered in the rude songs of his country. See *Annals*, ii. f. 88. Some of those songs, or brief chronicles of the times, were dug up in German monasteries in the beginning of the sixteenth century. CHARLEMAGNE, according to Eginhard, the historian of that warlike prince, composed verses in the rude style of that age, commemorating the wars and brave exploits of the German chiefs. He is said to have carried with him into France a large collection of those ancient ballads, which he ordered to be trans-

lated into Latin. But those records are now no where to be found.

(f) Various opinions have been advanced by antiquarians concerning the name of TUISTO. Some assert that it means the creator of the world; and that MANNUS, which is MAN with a Latin termination, relates to Adam. Others will have it, that TUISTO is the same as TEUTATES, a Scythian or Celtic king; and much learning has been laid out upon the subject. It is too often the fate of learned commentators to open a wide field for discussion, in which men of sober sense refuse to follow them. It is sufficient that Tuisto was the most ancient deity of the Germans and Scandinavians, long before the worship of Odin was established. See Monsieur Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. chap. 6; and this Tract, f. 43, note (f).

(g) We have here, in three grand divisions, a general geographical description of Germany. The commentators inform us that they have found compound words in the German language, signifying, first, the inhabitants of the maritime parts; 2dly, inhabitants of the midland country; 3dly, inhabitants of the east; and those words correspond with the three appellations, which the Romans softened into their own idiom. There was anciently another division of Germany, perhaps more satisfactory. 1. Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe, *inter Rhenum et Albim*; 2. between the Elbe and the Weiffel, *inter Albim et Vistulam*; 3. Southern Germany, *Germania Australis*, between the Rhine and the Danube. 4. Germany beyond the Weiffel, *Germania Transvistulana*. 5. Germany beyond sea, and the islands of the Baltic; *Germania Transmarina et Insulæ*. Pliny the

the Elder enumerates five German nations not materially different from the last description. He says, *Germanorum genera quinque*. 1. *Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones*. 2. *Alterum genus Ingævones, quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni, ac Chaucorum gentes*. 3. *Proximi autem Rheno Istævones, quorum pars Cimbri Mediterranei*. 4. *Hermiones, quorum Suevi, Hermunduri, Catti, Cherusci*. 5. *Quinta pars, Peucini, Basternæ, Contermini Dacci*. Plin. lib. iv. f. 28, 14.

(b) The Gambrivians are mentioned by Tacitus in this place only.

(i) The Vandals are the same as the *Vindili* mentioned by Pliny; a brave and warlike race, who afterwards over-ran Gaul, Spain, and Italy, and were finally destroyed in Africa.

(k) Lipsius is of opinion that this passage will ever be the torment of the commentators. But the difficulty does not seem to be insurmountable. Tacitus says, that the first emigrants from the other side of the Rhine who entered Gaul, and dispossessed the natives, were in his time called Tungrians; but when they undertook their expedition, to strike their enemies with terror, *ob metum*, they called themselves GERMANS. The word, of course, implied something formidable, and, by adverting to the etymology, it receives the following construction. *Gehr*, or *Wehr*, signifies war. From that root the French have derived their word *guerre*. *Man* in the German tongue implied the same as it does now in that country and in England. Hence we find, that the first invaders, *ob metum*, to spread a general alarm, called themselves Germans, or *warlike men*. That such migrations were made into Gaul is evident from Julius

Cæsar. In the second book of his Gallic Wars, f. 4, he relates that, on enquiry, he found that the Belgians were for the most part Germans originally, who had been drawn by the fertility of the country to settle in those parts, and, during the irruption of the Teutones and Cimbri, were the only people, of all the provinces of Gaul, that resisted those fierce Barbarians, and never suffered them to set foot in their territories. The name of **GERMANS**, assumed by those who crossed over into Gaul, was in process of time adopted by all the nations on the east side of the Rhine, and in Cæsar's time was the established appellation of the whole country. The region which the Tungrians inhabited, *Brotier* says, was what the French call *L'ancien Diocèse de Tongres*, and it is remarkable that the same territory was occupied by the Franks, when, under the conduct of Pharamond, they made their irruption into France, and from that time gave their name to the whole country.

(1) Besides the fabulous Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, there was, in ancient times, no warlike nation that did not boast of its own particular **HERCULES**. La Bletterie, the ingenious translator of a considerable part of Tacitus, mentions a learned antiquarian (Mons. Freret) who supposed, not without great probability, that some German chief of great renown in arms was called *Her-Koul*, *Belli Caput*, the head of a victorious army. *Her-koul* would easily be changed by the Romans into **HERCULES**. However that may be, we find in Tacitus an entire forest beyond the *Visurgis*, or the *Weser*, sacred to Hercules. See Annals, ii. f. 12. The warriors rushing to battle sung his praise, as we find that, in their ballads, they afterwards celebrated Arminius. See Annals, ii. f. 88. Several learned men have clearly proved that the word **HERCULES** was

a name

a name given to all the leaders of colonies, who came out of Asia to settle in Greece, Italy, and Spain. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 91.

Section III.

(a) The commentators are much at variance about the reading of the original word to express the recitation of the German poets. Some of them contend for *barritus*, instead of *barditus*; for *barrire*, they say, signifies the cry or roar of an elephant. Horace uses the word *barrus* for an elephant, *Mulier nigris dignissima barris*; Epod. 12. But Lipsius observes, that elephants were not known in Germany. This dispute about a word seems to be, as is usually the case, of little or no importance, since it is evident that the poets of Germany and Britain were called BARDS, and therefore *barditus* is, probably, the true reading. Lucan, book i. ver. 447, describes the office of the *bard*, and gives him that very name:

Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina BARDI.

The strains of verse which the bards poured forth in their fits of enthusiasm, inflamed the German and the British warriors with heroic fortitude. Perhaps nothing contributed more to make those nations stand at bay for such a length of time with the whole power of the Romans. The soldier said to the bard, "Come, and see me fighting for my country; see me bleed, if the fate of war will have it so; and if I die, be sure to record my memory." This was the ambition of the northern nations. Lipsius observes, that it was the same with the first

first inhabitants of Spain, and for his purpose cites the following passage:

————— ritu jam moris Iberi
Carmina pulsatâ fundentem barbarâ cetrâ.

The war-song of the Canadians and the northern savages of America, has been mentioned in the books of all travellers in that part of the world. Charlevoix has given a full account of this wild preparation for battle, and Dr. Robertson has quoted the very words of an Indian war-song: "I go to revenge the death of my brothers; I shall kill, I shall exterminate, I shall burn my enemies; I shall bring away slaves; I shall devour their heart, dry their flesh, and drink their blood; I shall tear off their scalps, and make cups of their skulls." The terms of a German war-song have not reached posterity. The collection by Charlemagne is totally lost. In those pieces we should, undoubtedly, have seen strong marks of ferocity; but the spirit of revenge that could eat the flesh of prisoners taken in battle, was unknown in Germany. The Scandinavians, when they were going to join battle, raised great shouts, clashed their arms together, invoked the name of ODIN, and sung hymns in his praise. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 237.

(b) Doctor Aikin has selected a passage from the life of Sir Ewen Cameron, which happily illustrates the ancient German opinion concerning the prophetic spirit of the war-song. At the battle of Killcrankie, just before the fight began, Sir Ewen commanded such of the Camerons as were posted near him to make a great shout, which being seconded by those who stood on the right and left, ran quickly through the whole army, and

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was returned by the enemy. But the noise of the muskets and cannon, with the echoing of the hills, made the Highlanders fancy that their shouts were louder and brisker than those of the enemy; and Lochiel cried out: "Gentlemen, take courage, the day is ours: I am the oldest commander in the army, and have always observed something ominous and fatal in such a dull, hollow, and feeble noise as the enemy made in their shout; which prognosticates, that they are all doomed to die by our hands this night; whereas ours was brisk, lively, and strong, and shews that we have vigour and courage." The event justified the prediction; the Highlanders obtained a complete victory.

(c) The love of fabulous history, which was the passion of ancient times, produced a new Hercules in every country, and made Ulysses wander in every sea. Tacitus mentions it as a romantic tale, but Strabo seems willing to countenance the fiction, and, for that purpose, gravely tells us that Ulysses founded a city, called Odyfsey, in Spain. Lipsius observes, that Lisbon, in the time of Strabo, had the appellation of *Ulyssipo*, or *Olyfipo*. He adds, that another learned antiquarian, from an altar-piece which was found in Caledonia, with an inscription in Greek letters, inferred that Ulysses, in the course of his voyages, landed on the coast of Scotland. To explode these idle reveries Lipsius pleasantly says, at this rate, what should hinder us inhabitants of the Low Countries from asserting that Ulysses built the city of *Ulyssinga* in the province of Zeland, and that *Circè* founded that of *Circzea* or *Ziriczée*?

(d) Inscriptions on stone, marble, or brass, though cut in Greek characters, are a bad support of the systems advanced by
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theoretical writers. Tacitus has shewn, *Annals*, xi. f. 14, that the use of alphabetical letters passed from the Phœnicians into Greece, and from Greece into Italy and Gaul, particularly to Marfeilles. Cæsar relates, b. i. f. 21, that a roll was found in the Helvetian camp, WRITTEN IN GREEK CHARACTERS, and containing a list of all (including old men, women, and children) who had set out in the expedition against the Roman army. In book vi. f. 13, he expressly says that the Druids did not commit their statutes to writing, but in all other matters made use of Greek characters. Those characters passed from Gaul into Germany, where Count Marfili and others have found several monuments with Greek inscriptions. The communication that subsisted between the druids of Gaul and those of Britain, would easily convey the art of writing into this island.

Section IV.

(a) This wonderful similitude throughout the whole race has been remarked by various authors. Juvenal has mentioned their yellow hair, their blue eyes, and other circumstances that made the whole nation appear to be one family.

Cæcula quis stupuit Germani Lumina? flavam
Cæsariem, et madido torquentem cornua cirro?
Nempe quod hæc illis natura est omnibus una.

13th Sat. v. 164.

Sidonius Apollinaris says, that, being in Germany, and finding the men so very tall, he could not address verses of six feet to patrons who were seven feet high.

Spernit senipodem stylum Thalia,
Ex quo septipedes vidit patronos.

Section

Section V.

(a) Noricum was bounded towards the north by the Danube, on the east by Pannonia, on the south by a range of the Alps, and on the west by the country of the Vindelici. It contained a great part of Austria and Bavaria.

(b) The Germans attended to nothing but the production of corn. Their country, like Canada, was covered over with immense tracts of forest, and, till the ground was cleared, and the cold, by consequence, abated of its rigour, cultivation could not be carried on with any kind of advantage.

(c) Notwithstanding what is here said, we find, *Annals*, xi. f. 20, that Curtius Rufus opened a silver mine in the territory of the Mattiaci, now subject to the landgrave of Hesse; but it was soon exhausted.

(d) The Romans began to coin silver A. U. C. 485. Their gold coin began in the year 587. On all their money, Victory was seen in a triumphant car, driving sometimes two horses, and sometimes four. Hence their pieces were called *bigati*, or *quadrigati*. See Pliny, book xxxiii. f. 3. The coin was indented round the edges like a saw, *ferra*, and, for that reason, called *ferrati*. Brotier says, he has seen several pieces of this old coin in the college-library of Lewis the Fourteenth. Pliny tells us, that the Romans soon began to debase their coin, and to mix an alloy of brass with their silver. The emperors still debased it more. The Germans in all their money-dealings suspected fraud, and therefore preferred the coin of the republic, such as had a car with two or four horses, and the edge indented. The antiquarians have employed much learning on this subject; but

the above short account (suggested by Brotier and La Bletterie) seems to be the true solution of the difficulty.

(e) It is remarkable that the Romans always exacted from the conquered nations a tribute of silver. Pliny the Elder wonders at the fact, and adds that, when Hannibal was overthrown, and Carthage reduced to subjection, the Romans demanded an annual tribute of silver for the term of fifty years; but they made no mention of gold. See Pliny, book xxxiii. f. 13, and 15.

Section VI.

(a) Abundance of iron was to be found in the bowels of the earth; but to extract it, to soften it by fire, and render it pliant and malleable, required more skill and patience than consisted with the rough genius of a savage race. Accordingly swords and javelins were not much in use. A spear tip with iron, in their language called, as Brotier informs us, *friem*, or *priem*, was their weapon in almost all the battles recorded by Tacitus. From the word *friem* the Roman writer easily made the term *framea*, more consonant to the *idiom* of the Latin language. It appears in the *Annals*, book ii. f. 14, that those instruments of war were of an enormous size, and unwieldy in close engagement. The number was not sufficient to arm more than the front line of their army. The rest carried short darts or clubs hardened by fire. In general, pointed stones were prefixed to their weapons, and many of these, Brotier says, have been discovered in German sepulchres. The *fram* of King Childeric was found on opening his monument.

(b) The only covering of a German was a short mantle.
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Their soldiers, for the most part, were naked. All, however, were curious in the embellishment of their shields, which we find, *Annals*, ii. f. 14, were not made of iron, but of osier twigs interwoven, or of thin boards decorated with gaudy colours. These shields were the delight of the German soldiers. They were, at first, the ensigns of valour, and afterwards of nobility. The warlike chief made it his study to adorn his shield with variegated colours and the figures of animals, to distinguish his own martial prowess; and what in the beginning was merely personal, became in time hereditary. Hence what we now call coats of arms peculiar to the descendants of particular families; and hence the origin of heraldry. The shield of a German was his only protection in the heat of an engagement. Breast-plates were worn by a few only. The head-piece was of two sorts; one made of metal, to which the Romans gave the name of *cassis*; the second of leather, called *galea*. It is true, that Plutarch, in the Life of Marius, giving an account of the irruption of the Cimbri, describes their helmets formed like the heads of ferocious animals, with high-plumed crests. He also mentions their iron breast-plates. But this warlike apparatus was, most probably, acquired during their march into Italy. Vegetius wonders by what fatality it happened, that the Romans, after having experienced the advantage of their armour during a space of twelve hundred years, from the foundation of Rome to the reign of Gratian, should at length abandon their ancient discipline, and, by laying aside their breast-plates and their helmets, put themselves on a level with the barbarians, who insulted them in every quarter. By this alteration they left themselves and the empire obnoxious to their enemies. See Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 11, f. 12.

(c) The Roman art of managing the war-horse is beautifully described by Virgil, 3 *Georg.* v. 182. The reader who desires to know the skill with which the Romans vaulted on their horses and leaped off again, will find it at large in Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 18.

(d) The German manner of intermixing the foot soldiers with the cavalry is described by Julius Cæsar. Ariovistus, he says, had about six thousand horsemen, who chose a like number out of the foot, each his man, all remarkable for strength and agility. These accompanied the cavalry in battle, and served as a rear-guard. If the action became dangerous, they advanced to the relief of the troops. If any horseman was wounded, and fell to the ground, they gathered round to defend him. If speed was required, either for hasty pursuit or sudden retreat, they were so nimble and alert by continual exercise, that, laying hold of the manes of the horses, they could keep pace with their swiftest motion. Cæsar *de Bell. Gall.* lib. i. f. 48.

(e) Germany was divided into states or communities, each state into cantons, and each canton into hundreds, or a hundred families. So the Suevians were divided, according to Cæsar, book iv. f. 1. The Swifs at this day are divided into cantons. The division into hundreds was introduced into England by our Saxon ancestors. The hundreders in this country were a civil establishment; whereas in Germany they were a military institution, being so many select men, whose duty it was to mix with the cavalry in battle; and, therefore, in that country hundreder was a title of honour.

(f) The word wedge, importing a body of men drawn up
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in that form, is a known military term. The ranks are wide in the rear, but lessen by degrees, and sharpen to a point in front, the better to break through the lines of the enemy. The practice was universally in use among the Germans, and, accordingly, in the History of Tacitus, b. iv. f. 16, we find Civilis drawing up the Frisians, the Caninefates, and his own countrymen the Batavians, in three different wedges. Whoever has a mind to read more on this subject, will find a dissertation in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, 4to. edit. vol. xxv. p. 44c.

(g) To bring off his slaughtered comrades, in order to bury their bodies, was a point of honour with the German warrior; and to leave his shield on the field of battle was the most flagitious crime. It continued to be so several years after the time Tacitus speaks of, since we find that a heavy fine was imposed by the Salic law on him who falsely accused another of that heinous offence. *Si quis ingenuus homo alio impropaverit, quod scutum suum jactasset, et in fuga lapsus fuisset, et non potuerit adprobare, D. C. den. culpabilis judicetur.* See the Salic Laws, tit. xxxiii. cap. 5.

Section VII.

(a) The text in this place seems perfectly clear, though various writers, fond of a particular hypothesis, have endeavoured to perplex it. Some of those ingenious authors contend, that the kings in Germany were hereditary, and the general officers elective. But Tacitus says, *sumunt*, they take or choose, and he applies the word to kings as well as commanders in chief. Hence it may be fairly inferred, that in the election of kings they had regard to the nobility of an ancient race; but still they chose them. They chose, perhaps, out of certain families, and
gave

gave the preference to the issue of the deceased king: but it does not appear that they were bound by any law of inheritance. In Cæsar's account of the Germans there are some passages that seem to clash with Tacitus, or at least to create a difficulty. Germany, however, was new to Cæsar: he did not penetrate far into the country; and though a mind like his would take a wide survey of his subject, it cannot be supposed that, with all his accuracy, he gained complete information. He tells us, the Germans make choice of a chief to conduct their wars, and arm him with power of life and death: but in time of peace there is no public magistrate, all decisions being made by the leading men in their several districts. *Cum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit, aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello præsent, et vitæ necisque habeant potestatem, diliguntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos jus dicunt, controversiasque minuunt.* Book vi. f. 22. This may seem to imply that there was no king to rule over them. But this could not be Cæsar's meaning: he was well acquainted with Ariovistus, the German king, who made an irruption into Gaul. We shall see in the sequel of this tract, that, in some places towards the north, the kings were arbitrary; in others their authority was limited. If they happened to be distinguished by their exploits in war, the nation was willing to take the field under their auspices; if not, they chose a commander famous for his martial spirit. We read in Tacitus (*History*, iv. f. 15.) the manner of choosing a general: he was placed on a shield, and carried on the shoulders of the men, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the army. Gregory de Tours informs us, that kings among the Franks were chosen in the same manner. His words are, *Plaudentes tam parvis quam vocibus CLODOVECHUM clypeo evectum super se regem constituunt.* Lib. ii. f. 40.

f. 40. The celebrated Abbé Vertot, in his Parallel between the Manners of the Germans and the Franks, who founded the French monarchy, finds in the election of a chief to preside in war, the origin of the *maires du palais*, who, at one time, had so much weight and power throughout France. The Franks, he says, after the example of their German ancestors, reserved the right of choosing their generals, and the king was bound to confirm his authority. Occasionally they chose their king to lead them to the field of battle. Clovis is a proof of this fact. He united in himself the royal prerogative, and the authority of commander in chief. Under Clotaire, the second king of the western part of France, the elective general, or *maire du palais*, was suppressed, but soon revived again under the following monarchs. In the reign of Clovis II. the people continued to choose their commanders in chief, and that extraordinary power was exercised in a manner wholly independent of the sovereign, and often dangerous to his title. See Vertot's *Dissertation, Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, 4to. edit. vol. ii. p. 627. It will not be improper to insert here the substance of Montesquieu's opinion on this subject:—A government, under which a nation, who had a king on the throne, elected an officer invested with all the powers of royalty, must be thought an extraordinary phenomenon in politics: but, upon enquiry, it will be found that the Franks, who established the French monarchy, derived their notions of government from an ancient source. They were descended from the Germans, who in the choice of a king were determined by his nobility, and in that of their leader by his valour. Here we behold the kings of the first race, and the mayors of the palace. No doubt but some of the princes, who with a martial spirit offered to conduct a warlike enterprise, were accepted by the voice of the people, and, being
thus

thus confirmed, they exercised both the royal and military power. But those two branches of authority were often separated. In order thoroughly to understand the genius of the Franks, we need only to recollect the conduct of Arbogastes, a Frank by nation, to whom Valentinian committed the command of his army. He confined the prince in his own palace, and suffered no man to confer with him on the subject of affairs civil or military. *Spirit of Laws*, book xxxi. chap. 4. The savage tribes of America often afford a striking resemblance of German manners; and accordingly we read in Charlevoix, The army has often at its head the chief of the nation or town; but he must first have distinguished himself by some signal action of bravery; if not, he is obliged to serve as a subaltern. See his *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, letter xviii.

(b) Cæsar says, that Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, a German nation, described his authority so limited, that, though he governed, the people in their turn gave laws to the prince. *Sua esse ejusmodi imperia, ut non minus haberet juris in se multitudo, quam ipse in multitudinem. De Bell. Gall. lib. v. f. 27.* We read in Vertot, that the Franks, when they passed over the Rhine and settled in Gaul, carried with them the same ideas of government. Their kings were invested with high authority, but were, at the same time, restrained by laws which they did not dare to violate. As a proof of this, he tells us that Clovis, having gained a victory over Syagrius, the Roman general, wanted to present to a bishop a sacred vase, which had been taken in the pillage of the town: but one of the Franks, a soldier of a fierce and independent spirit, struck the cup with his battle-axe, declaring with ferocity, that the plunder must be shared by lot, and the king himself had no better right. *Nil*
hinc

hinc accipies, nisi quæ tibi fors vera largitur. See Vertot's Dissertation, *Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 627. See also Dr. Robertson's *Charles V.* 8vo. edit. vol i. p. 254. The same spirit of independence prevails among the North-American savages. See Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, letter xviii.

(c) The commander in chief had the power of adjudging, but the punishment was inflicted by the priests, who, according to Cæsar, book vi. f. 20, were not of the order of the Druids. It followed, by consequence, that the general met with less ill-will, and the execution was beheld with reverential awe. La Bletterie observes, that in modern times the stroke of justice, committed always to the base and profligate, is well-nigh rendered odious. The ancient Germans seem to have been of opinion, that the life of man, whenever taken away, should be a sacrifice to the Deity. It is not probable that the ferocity of the people would tamely submit to the severity of human institutions.

(d) The figures of savage animals were deemed religious symbols; see Tacitus, *Hist.* b. iv. f. 12. It was also a custom to deposit the standards taken from the enemy in their sacred groves, *Annals*, b. i. f. 59. These they carried with them to their wars. In like manner the Canadians have symbolic figures of their gods, which they call their *Manitous*. They take care, when going to battle, to carry with them those objects of superstition, and would as soon forget their arms. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

(e) The Germans felt themselves inflamed with enthusiastic ardour, when their wives and children surveyed the field of

battle. Many instances of this occur in Tacitus. See *History*, b. iv. f. 18. In the engagement between Cæsar and Ariovistus, the Germans encompassed their whole army with a line of carriages, in order to take away all hopes of safety by flight; and their women, mounted upon those carriages, weeping and tearing their hair, conjured the soldiers, as they advanced to battle, not to suffer them to become slaves to the Romans. Cæsar, b. i. f. 51. The Britons, under the conduct of Boadicea, prepared for the decisive action in the same manner. *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 34. Galgacus, in his speech before the last battle for liberty, tells the Caledonians, that the advantage of having wives and children was on their side, whereas the Romans had no such pledges to excite their valour. *Life of Agricola*, f. 32. The manners of ancient chivalry seem to be derived from this German origin. The fair helped to disarm the knight returning from his adventures; they praised his valour, and dressed his wounds. See a dissertation on this subject, *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. xx.

Section VIII.

(a) We have in Florus a lively description of the undaunted courage with which the German women opposed the enemy in the day of battle. After stating the victory obtained by Marius over the Cimbri, the historian says, that the conflict was not less fierce and obstinate with the wives of the vanquished. In their carts and waggons they formed a line of battle, and from their elevated situation, as from so many turrets, annoyed the Romans with their poles and lances. Their death was as glorious as their martial spirit. Finding that all was lost, they sent a deputation to Marius, desiring that they might be at liberty to enrol themselves in a religious order. Their request, in
its

its nature impracticable, being refused, they strangled their children, and either destroyed themselves in one scene of mutual slaughter, or, with the sashes that bound up their hair, hung suspended by the neck on the boughs of trees, or the top of their waggons. Florus, book iii. ch. 3. See also Valerius Maximus, book vi. ch. 1. That the women were esteemed by the German nations as their dearest pledges, is confirmed by Suetonius, who relates, that Augustus Cæsar demanded from the conquered tribes a new sort of hostages, namely, their women; because he found, by experience, that they did not much regard their male hostages. Sueton. *Life of Augustus*, f. 21.

(b) Plutarch, in his Treatise on the Virtues of the Female Sex, relates, that a dispute arose among the tribes of Celtic emigrants, before they passed over the Alps, so fierce and violent, that nothing but the decision of the sword could end the quarrel. The Celtic women on that occasion rushed between the two armies, and determined the question with such good sense, that the Celtic nations ever after made it their practice to call women to their consultations about peace and war. When Julius Cæsar enquired of the prisoners why Ariovistus declined an engagement, he found that it was the custom among the Germans for the women to decide by lots and divinations, whether it was proper to hazard a battle, and that they had declared against coming to action before the new moon. Cæsar, book i. f. 50. Strabo relates, that among the Cimbrian women, who followed their husbands in the invasion of Italy, there were several who had the gift of prophecy, and marched bare-footed in the midst of the lines, distinguished by their grey hairs, and milk-white linen robes. Strabo, book vii. Tacitus in his History observes that most of the German women were considered as prophetesses,

phetesses, and, in particular, that *Veleda* was worshipped as a goddess. *Hist.* book iv. f. 61, and 65. La Bletterie observes, that, till the final extinction of paganism, the same superstition prevailed in Gaul, and that a number of matrons, or druidical virgins, foretold, when the emperor Alexander was on the point of setting out on his expedition against Germany, that he would never return. We are further told by Pomponius Mela, that, in an island on the coast of Brittany, there was an ancient oracle where nine virgins attended as priestesses, and issued the responses. Besides their prescience of futurity, they had the power to imprison the winds, or by their incantations to raise storms and tempests. Pomp. Mela, book iii. c. 6. The influence of the Canadian women may be seen in Charlevoix. He says, to take up the hatchet, is to declare war; and nothing can be said against it, unless it be among the *Hurons* and *Iroquois*, where the matrons command or prohibit a war, as seems good unto them. Charlevoix, letter xiii.

(a) *Veleda* was a prophetess of the Bructerian nation. She was the oracle of Civilis the Batavian, in his war with the Romans. Cerealis, when he had gained a decisive victory over that warlike chief, and had nothing so much at heart as a general peace, knew the importance of *Veleda*, and her influence on the German mind. We see him, for that reason, in the History of Tacitus, b. v. f. 24, endeavouring to draw her over to his interest. And yet with all her boasted knowledge she was blind to her own fate. We learn from Statius, that she was made a captive by Rutilius Gallicus, and obliged to humble herself before the emperor Vespasian. Hence Tacitus says, *vidimus Veledam, we saw Veleda*. Statius, after being, in his congratulatory style, lavish of his compliments to his friend Rutilius Gallicus, for
his

his great success in Asia and Africa, touches at last on his victorious arms in Germany, and the captivity of Veleda.

Non vacat Arctos acies, Rhenumque rebellem,
CAPTIVÆQUE PRECES VELEDÆ, et (quæ maxima nuper
Gloria) depositam Dacis pereuntibus urbem
Pandere. STATIUS SYLV. lib. i. poem. iv. v. 89.

Section IX.

(a) This passage has afforded a large field of discussion, in which various writers have expatiated, as fancy, or the love of an hypothesis, happened to dictate. Cæsar tells us, that the Germans have no druids to preside in religious affairs; nor do they trouble themselves about sacrifices. They acknowledge no gods but those that are objects of sight, and by whose power they are apparently benefited; the sun, the moon, fire. Of other gods they knew nothing, not even by report. *De Bell. Gall.* b. vi. f. 20. On the other hand, the same author informs us, that the Gauls worshipped Mercury as the inventor of all useful arts, and the tutelary patron of commerce; and also Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. Book vi. f. 16. But if it be true, according to the same eminent writer, that the Gauls in ancient times exceeded the Germans in bravery, and often passed over the Rhine to wage war in that country, it cannot be supposed that the Germans never heard of other gods. Mars, we find, was worshipped by the Gauls; but as he was a Scythian god, as Virgil has it, *Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui præsidet arvis*, it is highly improbable that a people, who were of Scythian origin, should not have heard of the God of War. It is to be regretted that Cæsar did not give us the Celtic names of the several deities worshipped in Gaul, and also the names in use among the Germans. Harsh as those terms might be, a Latin
termi-

termination would have softened them into a milder sound. Thus we have *man* and *berth* changed by Tacitus into MANNUS and HERTHUM. Schedius, *de Diis Germanis* (an author, whose elaborate work has been lately put into the present writer's hands by his excellent and learned friend Dr. Charles Burney); expressly says, that TEUTATES was the Roman MERCURY, and HESUS, MARS. For his authority he cites Lactantius, book i. c. 21, who observes, that the Gauls propitiated those gods by human sacrifices. *Hesum et Teutaten humano cruore placabant.* Lucan speaks to the same purpose :

Et quibus immitis placatur fanguine diro
TEUTATES, horrendum feris altaribus HESUS.

LUCAN, lib. i. v. 444.

And you, where HESUS' horrid altar stands,
And dire TEUTATES human blood demands.

ROWE'S LUCAN.

In some resemblance of the attributes ascribed to HESUS and TEUTATES, the Greeks and Romans saw Mars and Mercury, and thence inferred that their own modes of worship extended to barbarous nations. But the natural religion of rude illiterate ages owed its birth to the passions and superstitious fears of an ignorant multitude.

———— tantum terroribus addit
Quos timeant, non nosse Deos.

The zealous crowds in ignorance adore,
And still, the less they know, they fear the more.

ROWE'S LUCAN, book iii.

The idea of one God, the governing mind of the universe, was unknown to the Pagan world. The most savage nations had

had a notion of an invifible power ; but being left to their own uninstructed fancy, polytheifm was the confequence. They analyfed the Deity, decomposed his effence, perfonified his attributes, and made new gods for every thing that they wifhed or feared. All had a fenfe of a fuperior Being ; but not being able to afcribe omnipotence to one God, they multiplied the number, and diftributed the adminiftration of the univerfe among various deities, affigning to each his feparate province, his diftinct attributes, and peculiar character. The theology of Greece and Rome fprung out of the wants, the fears, and paffions of a favage race, and, in procefs of time, thofe nations adorned and polished the rude invention of their anceftors. Their genius gave the graces of poetry to every fiction, and their mythology was rendered elegant. Other nations, who made no advances in fcience, formed their fyftem of polytheifm in the fame manner, and, as was natural, deified the fame attributes. And thus, as Hume obferves in his *History of Natural Religion*, “ The Greek and Roman travellers and conquerors, “ without much difficulty, found their own deities every where, “ and faid, This is MERCURY, that VENUS ; this is MARS, that “ NEPTUNE ; by whatever title the ftrange gods might be de- “ nominated. The goddefs HERTHA of our Saxon anceftors “ feems to be no other, according to Tacitus, than the MATER “ TELLUS of the Romans.” According to this doctrine, we fee in the tract on the *German Manners*, f. 43, that under the name of *Alcis* Tacitus found that the people worfhipped CASTOR and POLLUX. In this fenfe the Roman hiftorians are to be underftood, when they tell us, that favage nations worfhipped Mars, and Venus, and Minerva. Under barbarous appellations they worfhipped invifible powers, to whom they gave diftinct functions, as the Romans did in their own religious fyftem. It

is therefore to be wished that Cæsar had collected the names ascribed by the Germans to their gods. In that case, the seeming variance between him and Tacitus would, most probably, vanish. But Cæsar was engaged in an important war with Ariovistus, and he did not pierce far into Germany. See f. 43, note (*f*).

(*b*) Human victims were offered to Mercury (or HESUS) as the chief of the German gods, and, according to the text, certain animals were sacrificed to Mars and Hercules. There is, however, reason to think that Mercury was a principal deity, since we find, in a quarrel between the Cattians and Hermundurians, that both armies devoted the vanquished, their men, and horses, and whatever was taken, as a sacrifice to Mars and Mercury. *Annals*, b. xiii. f. 57. In the *History*, b. iv. f. 64, Mars is called the principal deity. The Germans were of Scythian origin, and, of course, retained much of the manners of their ancestors. See Herodotus, book iv. The Celtic nations offered human victims to their gods, and, accordingly, Cæsar tells us, that the same horrible superstition prevailed among the Gauls. In threatening distempers or imminent dangers, they made no scruple to sacrifice human victims, and made use of the ministry of their druids for that purpose. They put the victims alive into a colossus of osier twigs, and all within expired in the flames. Convicts for theft, robbery, or other crimes, were thought most acceptable to the gods, and, when real criminals were not to be found, the innocent were made to suffer. Cæsar, book vi. f. 15. Pliny informs us, that men were sacrificed by the Romans as late as the year of Rome 657, when a decree was passed, in the consulship of Cornelius Lentulus and Licinius Crassus, forbidding the practice of human sacrifices. And thus, says Pliny, the world

world was obliged to the humanity of the Romans, who abolished the horrible ceremonies, in which it was pronounced to be a religious duty to sacrifice a man, and even wholesome to eat his flesh. And yet the same writer tells us, lib. 28, that the mischief was so far from being cured by the decree of the senate, that he saw a Greek man and woman buried alive at Rome. Plutarch speaks of the same barbarity in his own time, inflicted on a native of Gaul. La Bletterie relates from Vopiscus, that, in the year of the christian æra 270, Aurelian, to induce the senate to consult the Sibylline books, offered a number of prisoners, of whatever nation they should choose, to be sacrificed on that occasion. After that fact, he says, let man boast of his reason, and with presumption say, that he stood in no need of revelation.

(c) A Liburnian galley was the name given by the Romans to a ship built after the model which they borrowed from the Liburnians, a people of Dalmatia. The service performed by those galleys in the battle of Actium is well known. Horace addresses an ode to Mæcenæ, when he was setting out with Augustus on that expedition :

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
Amice, propugnacula.

HORACE, book v. ode 1.

How ISIS came to be worshipped by the Suevians in the form of a ship may be accounted for. That goddess was deemed the inventress of navigation. The superstition and religious ceremonies of the Ægyptians were diffused over Asia, Greece, and the rest of Europe. Brotier says, that inscriptions to Isis and Serapis have been frequently found in Germany. But whe-

ther a Liburnian galley ever arrived in the Baltic, and whether the Suevians heard of Isis, the Ægyptian goddess, may be made a question. The Germans thought, like the rest of the Pagan world, that some præternatural power presided over every thing useful in human life. Imagination created a goddess of Navigation, and, as the human form was never assigned to the German deities, they worshipped the tutelary faint of the sea-faring life under the symbol of a ship. This was sufficient foundation for saying that the Ægyptian Isis was adored in Germany. See two dissertations on this subject, *Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres*, vol. v. p. 63.

(d) It may be assumed as a fact, that the Germans, at the time when Tacitus wrote his Treatise, had no representation of their gods in the human shape. Statuaries and artists did not fix their residence in those regions. It is certain, however, that in process of time images and statues abounded in Germany. The missionaries, who went in the eighth and ninth centuries to propagate the christian religion in those parts, saw many images and statues of their gods. That mode of idolatry was, however, far from being established. The people persisted, for a long time, to observe the institutions of their ancestors, till the council of Francfort, by order of Charlemagne, decided, that images should be admitted into churches to serve as books for the vulgar and ignorant. It is true that Tacitus, *Annals*, i. f. 51, mentions the temple of TANFAN; but it does not appear that any images or statues of the gods were there immured.

(e) Groves devoted to superstition were frequent in Germany and in Gaul. Mention is made, *Annals*, ii. f. 12, of a wood sacred to Hercules. The forest of BARDUHENNA occurs,

Annals, iv. f. 73; and in the *History*, iv. f. 14, Tacitus describes a sacred grove. Claudian, in his Panegyric on Stilico, congratulates his hero, that by his means the Hercynian Forest, which, before that time, had been made a gloomy desert by superstition, was converted into a place for the sports and pleasures of man, where he might pursue the chase, and hew the venerable oaks as his occasions required :

Ut procul Hercyniæ pervasta silentia sylvæ
Venari tuto liceat, lucosque vetustâ
Religione truces, et robora, numinis instar
Barbarici, nostræ feriant impune secures.

CLAUDIAN, lib. i.

Lucan's description of a sacred grove near Marfeilles, in the third book of the *Pharsalia*, is well known to the classic scholar. The rites of a barbarous worship, and the impression made on the mind by the gloom of a thick forest, are there displayed with a masterly hand; but, perhaps, Seneca has given the philosophical and true reason. He says, if you enter a dark wood, where high embowering trees exclude the light of the sun, the prodigious growth and lofty majesty of the wood, the solitude of the place, and the deep impenetrable gloom, all conspire to impress an awful stillness, and to fill the mind with ideas of the invisible power of a superior Being. *Si tibi occurrit vetustis arboribus, et solitam altitudinem egressis, frequens lucus, et conspectum cæli densitate ramorum submovens; illa proceritas silvæ, et secretum loci, et admiratio umbræ fidem tibi numinis facit.* Seneca, epist. 41. The younger Pliny (epist. 12.) says more concisely, We adore the gloom of woods, and the silence that reigns around us. *Lucos, atque in iis silentia ipsa adoramus.* The same effect in a Gothic church is finely described in Congreve's *Mourning Bride*:

No, all is hush'd, and still as death:—tis dreadful!
 How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
 Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads,
 To bear aloft its arch'd and ponderous roof,
 By its own weight made steadfast and immovable,
 Looking tranquillity! It strikes an awe
 And terror on my aching sight.

Section X.

(a) The Scythians, according to Herodotus, book iv. had their divining twigs. The manner in which they were used is explained by Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. of Denmark*, book xiv. who says, that the Rugians, a people bordering on the Baltic Sea, threw into their bosoms three pieces of wood, partly white, and partly black; the former denoting success, and the latter adverse fortune. La Bletterie says, the law of the Frisians shews that the people, even after they were converted to christianity, still retained this form of divination. The words of the law are, *Tali de virgâ præcisi, quos TENOS vocant*; *Teene* in German, or *Tan* in Anglo Saxon, signifying pieces of the young branch of a tree. See the explanation of TANFAN, *Annals*, b. i. f. 51, note (a).

(b) Cæsar says, b. i. f. 50, that, among the Gauls, the matrons of the family presided to decide by lots and divination. The case, undoubtedly, was the same in Germany.

(c) Instances of this superstition are recorded among the Persians. Darius was elected king by the neighing of a horse. Herodotus, b. iii. The same author, b. i. mentions a number of white horses, considered as sacred by Cyrus and his army. Justin relates the election of Darius in the following manner. The competitors for the regal diadem agreed that, on a stated day,

day, the horses of the several candidates should be drawn out before the palace, and he, whose horse was first heard neighing, should be chosen king. The reason of this ceremony was the persuasion of the Persians, who believed the sun to be the only god, and that all horses were consecrated to him. Justin, b. i. f. 10. In the isle of Rugen a priest took auspices from a white horse, as appears in Saxo Grammaticus, *Danish History*, b. xiv.

(d) Montesquieu observes, that this was the origin of duelling, and also of the heroic madness of knight errantry. It was considered by the superstition of the times as an appeal to heaven. In a fierce and warlike nation, like the Germans, whole families waged war on one another for every species of injury. To modify so savage a custom, the combat was fought under the eye of the magistrate, and, in that manner, private as well as public affairs were determined. The proof by battle was established, and with more eagerness, as it excluded perjury. Judicial combat was the mode of trial that afterwards prevailed all over Europe. Witnesses and *compurgators* were obliged to support their evidence by the decision of the sword. Ecclesiastics, women, minors, the aged and infirm could not be expected to enter the lists, and were therefore obliged to produce their champions. The custom in England was called *wager of battle*. The form of proceeding is stated on good authority by the late Judge Blackstone. That elegant writer had the merit of converting the thorny study of the law into a branch of polite literature. In his hands, *feret et rubus asper amomum*. By him we are told, that the last trial by battle, that was joined in a civil suit, was in the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, and was held in Tothill-fields, where Sir Henry Spelman was a witness of the ceremony. Blackstone, vol. iii. p. 338. In Rush-

worth's

worth's Collection, ann. 1631; 7th Car. I. there is a long account of the proceeding preparatory to a trial by battle in the court of chivalry; but his majesty, in the end, revoked his letters patent, not being willing to have the cause decided by duel. This remnant of German manners, though fallen into disuse, is not entirely abolished at this day. Blackstone, vol. iii. p. 341. See Dr. Robertson's *Charles V.* vol. i. p. 59.

Section XI.

(a) Montesquieu is of opinion, that in this Treatise on the Manners of the Germans an attentive reader may trace the origin of the British constitution. That beautiful system, he says, was found in the forests of Germany. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xi. ch. 6. The Saxon WITENAGEMOT was, beyond all doubt, an improved political institution, grafted on the rights exercised by the people in their own country. *Annals*, b. iv. f. 33, note (a). The author of the European Settlements in America says, "The Indians meet in a house, which they have in each of their towns for the purpose, upon every solemn occasion, to receive ambassadors, to deliver them an answer, to sing their traditional war-songs, or to commemorate the dead. These councils are public. Here they propose all such matters as concern the state, which have already been digested in the secret councils, at which none but the head men assist." *European Settlements*, vol. i. p. 177.

(b) The power and influence of the moon on all human affairs has been a notion adopted by the credulity and superstition of every age and nation. Ariovistus, according to Julius Cæsar, book i. f. 50, was forbid to hazard a battle before the new moon. The commentator on the passage in Cæsar adds, that

that by a law of Lycurgus the Spartan army was not to take the field before the full moon; and Vespasian, to take advantage of religious prejudices, attacked the Jews on the sabbath-day. See in the *Annals*, b. i. f. 28, a panic in the army, occasioned by an eclipse of the moon. The elder Pliny, b. ii. f. 99, sets forth the extravagant powers attributed to the same planet. In this enlightened age some traces of the same superstition still remain.

(c) The Gauls, we find in Cæsar, b. vi. f. 17, computed the time by nights, not by days. Vestiges of this custom still remain in Germany and in Britain. We say *se'nnight* and *fortnight*; last Monday *se'nnight*, this day *fortnight*. By the Salic law, *title 49*, the time allowed for appearing in court was computed by nights instead of days. Chambers, in his Dictionary, tells us, that in a council held in this island, ann. 824, a cause was heard after thirty nights: *fnita contentione coram episcopo; post triginta noctes illud juramentum ad Westminster deductum est.*

(d) In the excellent translation of Monsieur Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, we see the same custom observed by the Danes. They still shew the places where they chose their kings, their generals, and also deliberated on the most important affairs. There are remaining three monuments of this custom, the one near Lunden in Scania, the other at Leyra or Lethra in Zealand, and the third near Viburg in Jutland. "These monuments, " whose rude bulk has preserved them from the ravages of time, " are vast unhewn stones, twelve in number, set upright and " placed in the form of a circle. In the middle is a stone much " larger than the rest, on which they made a seat for their king. " The other stones served as a barrier to keep off the populace. " The principal chiefs mounted on those stones, and with a loud " voice

“ voice delivered their opinions ; then the soldiers, who stood
 “ in crowds about them, signified their approbation or assent by
 “ clashing their shields together in a kind of cadence, or by
 “ raising certain shouts.” Stonehenge is said to be a monument
 of the same custom. See Camden’s *Britannia*, by Gibson, p. 95.
 Brotier sees in those conventions the origin of the assemblies,
 called, under the Merovingian race of French kings, *Les Champs*
de Mars, the Fields of March ; under the Carolingian, *Les*
Champs de Mai, the Fields of May ; and finally, *Les Etats Ge-*
neraux, the States General. In Tacitus, *Hist.* b. iv. f. 15, Ci-
 vilis is applauded by the clangor of arms ; and Vercingetorix,
 after haranguing the soldiers, receives the approbation of the
 army, signified by striking their lances against their swords.
 Cæsar, b. vii. f. 21.

(c) From this it is evident that all the states of Germany
 were not governed by kings. The chief of the community im-
 plies a republican magistrate. The word *civitas* does not mean
 a city, but a state, a people, a body politic. In those states,
 where all important matters were discussed by the people in
 their collective body, no wonder that the man who possessed
 the powers of persuasion should be the leading demagogue. The
 oratory of the savage was unpolished, but it was animated by
 the emotions of the heart ; and the heart is the source of forcible
 and commanding eloquence. Charlevoix seems never better
 pleased than when he talks of the pathos and energy of his
 American orators ; and the author of the *European Settlements*
 in America, says, “ Their orators are employed in all the public
 councils, and there display those talents which distinguish them
 for eloquence and knowledge of public business ; in both of
 which some of them are admirable. The chief skill of the
 orators

orators consists in giving an artful turn to affairs, and in expressing their thoughts in a bold and figurative manner, much stronger than we could bear in this part of the world, and with gestures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expressive. *European Settlements*, vol. i. p. 178.

Section XII.

(a) The Salic law imposed a pecuniary penalty on such as took down a convict still alive from the tree or gibbet on which he was suspended. Even the dead body was not to be cut down without permission from the judge. A fine was paid for this offence.

(b) The cowards here intended were, most probably, those who offered to attend a chief to the wars as his faithful followers, and afterwards deserted. Men of that description were accounted infamous. Cæsar, b. vi. f. 22. By a law of the Lombards, the freeman, who was summoned to defend his country against a foreign invasion, and refused to carry arms in that pressing exigence, was adjudged guilty of a capital crime, and suffered as a traitor. Among the Canadians, the man who attaches himself to a leader, and, having sung the war-song, refuses to perform his engagement, is never safe from the indignation of his countrymen; at least, he is disgraced for ever. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

(c) The Germans distinguished the crimes which were prejudicial to the state, such as treason and desertion, from cowardice, which they ranked with those unnatural passions that ought never to be heard of in society. The enemy of his country was punished as a public example. Private vices, in

themselves base and flagitious, were considered as disgraceful to the guilty, not as an extensive mischief, and therefore swept away from the notice and the memory of man. Ignominious offenders were suffocated in mud, and their bodies were concealed from sight, to be forgotten as soon as possible. This distinction of crimes and punishments continued so long, that, by a law of the Burgundians, the wife, who proved false to her husband, was in like manner put to death in the mud. *Si qua mulier, maritum suum, cui legitime juncta est, dimiserit, necetur in luto. Burgundian Laws, tit. xxxiv.* This practice of the Germans calls to mind the punishment for parricide among the ancient Romans. The person convicted of that crime was hooded, as unworthy of the common light; sewed up alive in a sack, with an ape, a dog, and a cock; and, in that condition, thrown into the sea, or into the next lake or river. Cicero has described this mode of punishment. The parricide, he says, was sewed in a sack, that he, who murdered the author of his being, should no longer enjoy the elements, by which all things are formed. The law would not condemn him to be devoured by wild beasts, lest the nature of the animals should be rendered still more ferocious; nor was it deemed proper to throw him naked into the next river, lest, when wafted into the sea, his body should pollute the waves, that purified all things from infection. In this manner the criminal was suffered to live, as long as possible, without the open air; and he was left to die in such a way, that his bones never touched the earth. *Insui voluerunt in culeum vivos, atque ita in flumen dejici; ut qui eum necasset unde ipse natus esset, careret iis rebus omnibus, ex quibus omnia nata esse dicuntur. Noluerunt feris corpus objicere, ne bestiis quoque, quæ tantum scelus attigissent, immanioribus uteremur; non sic nudos in flumen dejicere, ne, cum delati essent in mare, ipsam polluerent, quo cætera,*

cætera, quæ violata sunt, expiari putantur. Ita vivunt, dum possunt, ut ducere animam de cælo non queant; ita moriuntur, ut eorum offâ terra non tangat. See the whole passage, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino*.

(d) In the list of crimes, for which a fine or composition was allowed, homicide, adultery, theft, and other personal injuries were included. See this Tract, f. 21. The laws, which the Germans established in their new settlements, when they quitted their forests, and over-ran all Europe, are the best commentary on Tacitus. They confirm him in every thing material. A race of barbarians, issuing from their woods and marshes, and bearing down all before them, would naturally bring with them their primitive ideas, and transfuse them into all the laws established in the conquered country. Whoever will be at the pains of examining their code of laws, will soon perceive, that, in their various fines for offences committed, they attended altogether to the quantity of the damage, the malice expressed or implied by the deed, and the rank of the person injured. Bro-tier, in his note on this passage, has given a variety of instances with his usual accuracy. The whole would draw this note into too great a length. A few examples will be sufficient. For stealing a sucking calf, a fine, besides the real value, and the expence of the suit, was imposed by the Salic law, *De Furtis Animalium*, tit. iii. For stealing a bull the fine was greater, and for the king's bull still more. For a dog of the chase, a considerable sum. Knives were of great value with a people unskilled in the mechanic arts. By the Salic law, he who stole a knife, was obliged to make restitution, and to pay a penalty. Horses were almost inestimable among the Saxons, and accordingly, by their law, *De Furtis*, tit. iv. horse-stealing was made a

capital crime; a circumstance the more singular, as a composition was allowed for homicide. By the Salic law, theft had its different shades of guilt; such as stealing from the outside of the house, from the inside, and if the offender entered by a counterfeit key, the penalty increased. If he broke in, and then fled and stole nothing, he was fined for the damage done by the forcible entry. The bare attempt to commit a crime was in some instances punished. If a man intending to give a mortal wound, missed his blow, the Salic law fined him for the malice expressed. For fracturing a skull the penalty was considerable, and still greater if the bone exfoliated, and the brain was laid open. By the Salic and Ripuarian laws, homicide had different degrees of guilt, and the composition varied accordingly. For killing a barbarian the fine was moderate; for killing a man, and concealing the body, the punishment was higher, and still increased, if the person slain was sunk in a well, or thrown into a pond. The ranks of men were also taken into consideration. If a freeman killed a freeman; if a Ripuarian killed a Frank, or a Burgundian, he paid the sums established by the law; but the value of a Roman was fixed at a lower rate. Many more examples might be added; but these short hints will serve to shew from what source the German emigrants derived their notion of crimes and punishments. The fine in Germany was a mulct of cattle, the only riches of the country; but in process of time, when the Roman empire was overturned, and the invaders became acquainted with money, the fines were pecuniary. By the Ripuarian laws, instead of the penal sum, called the weregild, the composition might be made in cattle, at the option of the offender.

(c) The part allotted to the king by the Salic law was called

called the *fredum*, i. e. *pax*, a payment to the king, as conservator of the public peace, by preventing private vengeance for the injury received. Montesquieu sees in this passage the origin of the *fiscal* revenue, or the king's *exchequer*. He observes further, that, when a man was killed by accident, or what is called chance-medley, no *fredum* was paid to the king, because for involuntary homicide no vengeance could be demanded by the friends of the deceased. If a man was killed by the fall of a piece of wood, no *fredum* was paid, but the piece of wood was forfeited, as was likewise the beast that occasioned the death of a man. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. c. 20. From these early institutions, all flowing from the German manners, the origin of DEODANDS, well known in our English law, may be clearly seen.

(f) The whole country of Germany was divided into different states. In some of these monarchy was established, and in others the republican form of government. The former submitted to kings; the latter had their chiefs. The case was the same with the American savages. An eminent writer says, Though some tribes are found in America, with an head, whom we call a king, his power is rather persuasive than coercive. The other forms, which may be considered as a sort of aristocracies, have no more power. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 176. In Germany, the leader of armies was elective. In each state or tribe the divisions were, 1st, the people; 2dly, the cantons, or shires, as they are called in Britain; 3dly, the *vici*, or hundreds. Magistrates were chosen in general conventions of the people to preside in the several cantons and hundreds. Cæsar, who seems to contradict this, knew that the commander in war had no authority in time of peace; and
thence,

thence, perhaps, arose his mistake. Tacitus expressly says, that there were magistrates in the several cantons and hundreds; and his account of the matter seems to be confirmed by the law made by the descendants of the German tribes, directing that, *according to ancient custom*, an assembly of the people should be convened before the Chief, or COMES, or his deputy, and that pleas should be held by the hundredor. *Conventus SECUNDUM ANTIQUAM CONSUETUDINEM, fiat in omni CENTENA coram COMITE, aut suo MISSE, et coram CENTENARIO placitum fiat. Leges Alamannorum, tit. xxxvi. lex. i.*

Section XIII.

(a) The custom of wearing swords on all occasions prevailed in every country where the Germans took possession. That the magistrates never went armed, is to be ascribed to the clergy, who, for many centuries, presided in the courts of justice. The Romans, it is well known, never wore their swords but in time of war, or upon a journey.

(b) This seems to be the origin of CHIVALRY, that famous institution, which spread over the greatest part of Europe in the eleventh century. It is related of Charlemagne, that he gave a sword with great pomp and solemnity to his son prince Louis. La Bletterie says, that a ceremony, little different from that now before us, is still subsisting in many parts of Germany. When a young page has passed the time of life for his employment, the prince whom he served gives a grand entertainment, and, in the presence of his courtiers, receives homage from his page, and then girds a sword on his side, and sometimes makes him a present of a horse. This is called *giving the right to carry arms*. Brotier observes, that the sons of kings often received a

present of arms from a foreign state ; and, in conformity to that custom, AUDOIN, after a signal victory, was desired by the Lombards to admit his son, who had signalized his valour in the field of battle, to dine at the same table with his father : but the conqueror made answer, that it could not be till the young prince received a sword from some foreign potentate. Warnefrid, *De Gestis Langobardorum*, lib. i. f. 23.

(c) When the young men of Rome attained the age of seventeen years, they changed their dress called the *prætecta*, for the *toga virilis*, the manly gown. On that occasion the youth was conducted by his friends into the Forum (or sometimes into the Capitol), where with much solemnity he changed his habit, and the day was called *dies tirocinii*, or the day on which he was capable of being a *cadet* in the army. The young German was, in like manner, introduced to the public by his relations. He then received a shield and a spear, and this is properly compared to the manly gown of the Romans. The same ceremony was observed by the Scandinavians. At the age of fifteen their young men became their own masters, by receiving a sword, a buckler, and a lance, and this was performed in some public meeting. See *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 197.

(d) We have seen that the chiefs among the Gauls, and also the Canadians, had a train of young adventurers, who lifted in their service. See f. 12, note (b). Fidelity, no less than martial bravery, was the pride and glory of the followers, who voluntarily entered into the army. The respect with which they were beheld by their countrymen, was such, that if any one of them was killed or wounded, the composition was three times

times more than the sum paid in the case of a common freeman.

(e) War was the ruling passion of all the northern nations. Among such a people it cannot be matter of wonder, that the chief, who led them on to danger and heroic fortitude, should be idolized by the soldiers. In Gaul, the warrior had a train of clients and followers in proportion to his fame in arms: that was the only mark of grandeur known amongst them. Cæsar, b. vi. f. 14. It was the same among the Scandinavians, and we see in Charlevoix that the Americans followed their leaders with equal ardour.

Section XIV.

(a) When Chonodomarus, king of the Alamanni, was taken prisoner by the Romans, his military companions, to the number of two hundred, and three of the king's most intimate friends, thinking it a flagitious crime to live in safety after such an event, surrendered themselves to be loaded with fetters. Ammian. Marcellin. b. xvi. c. 13. There are instances of the same kind in Tacitus.

(b) It appears from Cæsar's account, that they had another way of exercising their courage, when their nation was in a state of profound peace. They deemed it highly honourable to lay waste the country all around their frontier, conceiving that, to exterminate their neighbours, and suffer none to settle near them, was a proof of valour. They had still another kind of employment: robbery had nothing infamous in it, when committed out of the territories of the state to which they belonged; they considered it as a practice of great use, tending to exercise
their

their youth, and prevent sloth and idleness. Cæsar, b. vi. f. 22. The custom of carrying arms in the service of foreign states, during a long peace at home, was in vogue among the Scandinavians. "The more valiant among them, unable to lie inactive, till their own country should offer them new occasions to enrich and signalize themselves, entered into the service of such other nations as were at war. This was a general custom among all the Teutonic and Celtic nations; and ancient history affords us a thousand examples of it." *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 234.

(c) From the liberality of the chieftain in granting presents to his followers, Montesquieu deduces the origin of vassalage. Fiefs, or feudal allotments of land, did not subsist in Germany. The chiefs or princes had nothing to bestow but arms, and horses; feasts, and plenty of provisions. This was the whole wealth of the German warrior in his own country; this was what he imparted freely to his followers. In process of time, when those fierce invaders took possession of large tracts in the conquered countries, the followers of the chiefs, no longer content with feasts, and presents of horses and arms, demanded allotments of lands, which, at first, were BENEFICIARY only, and afterwards for life. In time they became hereditary, with conditions of military service annexed to the grant. Hence the origin of the FEUDAL SYSTEM. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. ch. 3, and 4. See Dr. Robertson, *Charles V.* p. 260, 263. See Abbé Millot, *Elémens de l'Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 190. We find in Charlevoix, that the American chieftains were under the same obligation to bestow presents on the men who boiled the *war-kettle*, and *took up the hatchet* in their service. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

Section XV.

(a) The literal meaning of the original is, *They do not pass much of their time in hunting, but more of it in sluggish idleness.* NON MULTUM VENATIBUS, PLUS PER OTIUM TRANSIGUNT. This, at the first blush, seems to contradict Cæsar, who says, book vi. l. 20, their whole life is addicted to hunting and war. To reconcile the two authors, Lipsius, and others since his time, propose to leave out of the original text the negative word *non*. This, perhaps, would be right, but the meaning of the passage is clear without any alteration. They hunted during a few months of the year, and then gave up all their time to the sports of the chase. In that pursuit consisted their actual employment. The rest of the year was loitered away in sleep and wine. The same custom prevailed among the American savages. Hunting, fishing, sleep, and drunkenness filled the whole round of their time. See Charlevoix in sundry places. A writer, who has left us a Latin History of Canada, says, when not engaged in hunting, or on a journey, the Canadians sit on the ground, or lie stretched in stupid repose, leaving all household affairs to their women, who are obliged to toil and labour, while the men think such menial offices beneath their dignity. See Creuxius, *Hist. Canadensis*, p. 65.

(b) In all the striking characters recorded in history, or drawn by the poet's, or the orator's pen, we see a mixture of opposite qualities. Catiline, as described by Cicerò, or by Sallust, is not the most wonderful instance even in civil society. Among rude and savage tribes, where nature works without restraint, the contrast is obvious. Every thing is in the extreme: peace and war, activity and sloth, love and hatred, all take their turn, and shew themselves without disguise. No moderation, no gradual

gradual transition from one passion to another. Every thing is done on the impulse of the moment, and repugnant desires seem to lie blended together.

(c) Brotier finds in this passage the origin of tributes, by which he must be understood to mean voluntary contributions. The Romans imposed a tribute, and other imposts under various names of *stipendia* and *vectigalia*, on all the conquered provinces. In Germany, where no man had a fixed possession of lands, and property was disregarded, the chieftains were obliged to maintain their followers or companions in war. But plunder and rapine were the only revenue of the chief. To enable him, however, to support his rank, the different states (CIVITATES) sent him voluntary presents of corn and cattle. When migrations were afterwards spread over Europe, the soldiers, after every victory, claimed their share of the booty, and soon obtained a portion of lands, but those lands were for the benefit of the individual, and at first for a year only. When they were made estates for life, and afterwards hereditary, every tenant of a certain portion of land was bound to attend the king in his army for forty days every year. That personal attendance growing troublesome, the tenants compounded with the crown for a pecuniary satisfaction, which, in time, was levied by assessments under the name of *scutage*, *talliares*, or *subsidies*. But even these were not to be levied without the consent of the common council of the realm. King John was obliged so to declare in his *Magna Charta*. See Blackstone, vol. i. p. 309 and 310. The same law was in force on the continent. When William the Norman desired a supply from the barons of his country, in order to assert his claim to the crown of England, they told him that the *Normans* were not bound to serve in foreign wars,

and no consideration could induce them to raise a supply. See St. Amand, *Historical Essay on the Legislative Power*, p. 102. When the French monarchy became afterwards greatly enlarged, no aid or subsidy could be levied without the consent of the three estates in their general assembly. The first blow that was given to the liberties of France, was, as PHILIP DE COMINES observes, in the reign of Charles VII. when the nobles agreed that the king should levy money upon their tenants for the venal consideration of their having a share of the sum so collected. The historian adds, that the king gave a wound to his country, which would continue long to bleed; and, he asks with honest indignation, is there a prince upon earth who has power to raise a single penny from his subjects, without the consent of those who are to pay it? The spirit of liberty has prevented the same grievance in this country, where, however great the public burthens, the rule has ever been, that no impost shall be exacted without the consent of parliament; and thus the idea of voluntary tributes, which came originally out of the woods of Germany, remains in force at this hour.

(d) These military presents were not peculiar to the Germans. The Romans had their civic crown, and other marks of distinction. Pliny the Elder relates, that Siccus Dentatus, tribune of the people under the consulship of Sp. Tarpeius and Aul. Aterius, A. U. C. 400, not long after the expulsion of the Tarquins, was engaged in one hundred and twenty battles, and returned with five and forty wounds, all honourably received in front, and not one behind, and that, for his valour, he received eighteen lances, twenty-five rich accoutrements, three gold chains, and twenty-six civic or mural crowns. Pliny, b. vii. f. 28.

(e) This was a dangerous lesson, which has been followed in every age and country. Herodian says of the Germans in his time, that they were greedy of money, and always ready for gold to barter a peace with the Romans. Herod. lib. vi.

Section XVI.

(a) Ptolemy, who published his System of Geography under the Antonines, near half a century after Tacitus, reckons no less than ninety cities in Germany; but those cities must be understood to be a number of huts, like those of the American savages. Ammianus Marcellinus, an author more to be relied upon, who wrote the history of the Roman wars in Germany, does not mention a single city. He says, on the contrary, that the Germans beheld the Roman cities with an eye of contempt, and called them so many sepulchres encompassed with nets. *Oppida ut circumdata retiis busta declinant.* Marcell. lib. xvi. c. 2. The idea of regular cities was not known in Germany till after the time of Charlemagne. See Cluverius, *Germania Antiqua*, lib. i.

(b) The vacant space of ground which encompassed the house, was that celebrated *Salic land* that descended to the male issue, and never to the female line. For more of this see sect. xx. and note (f).

(c) Lafitau, in his account of the American savages, says, that their dwellings are the abode of poverty and the most wretched ignorance; and, if we except the natives of Peru and Mexico, who had the skill to build their cottages with stone, all the various tribes are content with miserable huts, such as the Romans, in their descriptions of Africa, called *Mapalia* and *Tuguria*.

Tuguria. In some parts, towards the south as well as the north, the people take shelter in subterraneous caverns, formed by the hand of nature, and sometimes constructed by themselves. The *Eskimaux*, who inhabit near Davis's Strait in California, and Nova Zembla, pass the whole winter in those deep recesses, without ever venturing into the open air. Lafitau, *Mœurs de Sauvages Américains*, vol. ii. p. 5. See Ellis's *Hudson's Bay*. Dr. Robertson tells us, that some of the American tribes were so extremely rude, and had advanced so little beyond the primeval simplicity of nature, that they had no houses at all. During the day, they take shelter from the scorching rays of the sun under thick trees; at night they form a shed with their branches and leaves. In the rainy season they retire into coves, formed by the hand of nature, or hollowed out by their own industry. *History of America*, 8vo. edit. vol. ii. p. 173. See Kircher's *Mundus Subterraneus*, lib. viii. where there are many curious particulars concerning the Germans in their subterraneous caverns. The same custom was observed among the Scythians. Pomponius Mela says, that, during the extreme severity of the winter, they dwell under ground in natural caves, or in dens formed by their own labour. Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, lib. ii. cap. 1. The mansions of the Germans were such as Ovid describes in the first rude ages of the world:

———— Domus antra fuerunt,
Et densi frutices, et junctæ cortice virgæ.

METAMORPH. lib. i.

Section XVII.

(a) This mantle, or *sagum*, is often called RHENO by Latin authors. The reason is given by Cæsar, who says, that the
Germans

Germans are clothed in the skins of animals, called RHENONES; but the mantle was so short, that it left the greatest part of the body naked. *Pellibus aut parvis Rhenonum tegumentis utuntur, magnâ corporis parte nudâ.* Cæsar, b. vi. f. 20. See a similar account of the Suevians, the most warlike of all the German nations, Cæsar, b. iv. f. 1; and see Pomponius Mela, b. iii. f. 3. Whoever would know more of the German dresses, will find a full account in PELLOUTIER, *Histoire des Celtes*, b. ii. f. 6.

(b) The most improved of the American tribes dwell in mean and simple huts, contrived merely for shelter. They are without windows, and have a large hole in the middle of the roof, to give a vent to the smoke. There the American, when war and the chase are over, hovers over the fire, and dozes away his time in torpid indolence. See Dr. Robertson, *Hist. of America*, b. iv. and Charlevoix, *passim*.

(c) Cluverius, the celebrated geographer, in his *Germania Antiqua*, describes the tight dresses of the Germans in such plain terms, as will not, in point of delicacy, admit of a translation. The loose attire of the Sarmatians was, however, adopted by some of the German settlers on the western side of the Rhine.

Et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis,
Vangiones, Batavique truces.

LUCAN, lib. i. v. 430.

Vangiones, like loose Sarmatians drest,
Who with tough hides their brawny thighs invest.

ROWE'S LUCAN.

(d) The people bordering on the Baltic, and also on the Northern Ocean, called by Tacitus the Exterior Sea, were not
only

only curious in their choice of furs, but studious to embellish them with shells and shining stones, and fragments of the scales of the various fish found in those seas. In like manner the Eskimaux savages of America, the Greenlanders, and all the rude inhabitants of the northern regions, are clad in furs stained with a variety of colours. This practice is still continued with regard to the ermine, which is spotted with black lamb's skin. According to Cluverius, the women in Saxony, in Prussia, Livonia, and in general throughout Germany, wear shifts without sleeves, and leave the bosom bare.

Section XVIII.

(a) In this passage Tacitus seizes the opportunity to commend the noble simplicity of the German marriages, in order to pass a pointed censure on the nuptial ceremonies established at Rome, and the facility with which both sexes violated the marriage vow. Montesquieu, in his compendious manner, has shewn the progress of vice till it triumphed over the office of the censor, and established an entire corruption of manners. The civil wars reduced the number of citizens; and of those that remained, few were married. Julius Cæsar and Augustus passed their laws against celibacy, called by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. iii. f. 25, the Julian statutes, and by him declared to be a feeble remedy. See *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxiii. ch. 21. The lines of Horace stating the same complaint need not to be quoted. The indignation of Juvenal in his sixth satire is sufficiently known. The simplicity and virtue of the marriage contract among the tribes of Germany are given by Tacitus as a striking contrast to the depravity of Roman manners. The instances in which a plurality of wives was indulged, occurred but seldom, and even then were founded on special reasons. Thus we read that
Ariovistus

Ariovistus had two wives, the first of the Suevian nation; the second, the sister of a king, who courted the alliance of that German warrior. Cæsar, b. i. f. 53. Montesquieu assigns the same reason for the number of wives among the kings of the first race. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 24. For a proof of the fidelity of the German wives, see the passage from Florus, f. 8 of this tract, note (a). La Bletterie says, that among the women who perished with their husbands on that occasion, the Romans found one hanging by the neck, and her two children fastened to her feet. Among the wild Canadians it appears that women were not in the same estimation as in Germany. The preliminary and the ceremony of marriage are extremely simple. The young man seats himself by the side of the girl in her own cabin; and if she suffers it without stirring from her place, she is held to be consenting to the marriage. The bridegroom gives her various presents; which are so many symbols and admonitions of the slavery to which she is going to be reduced; such as a collar and straps to carry burthens; a kettle and a faggot, importing that she is to dress the victuals, and make a provision of wood. The husband has his own peculiar functions; he makes a mattress for his wife, builds a cabin for her, and passes his time in hunting and fishing. The man who abandons his wife without good cause, must expect nothing but insults from her relations; and a woman who wantonly leaves her husband, must pass her time still worse. In some places the husband has a right to cut off the nose of the wife who elopes from him. See Charlevoix, letter xix.

(b) By a law of the Saxons, if a woman have male issue, she is to possess the portion she received in marriage during

her life, and transmit it to her sons. *Leges Saxonum*, tit. vii.
De Dote.

Section XIX.

(a) Seneca considers public spectacles as so many places of seduction. Nothing, he says, is so dangerous as loitering at such diversions, for, when the heart is softened by pleasure, the passions stand ready for the admission of every vice. How is this to be understood? I return from those places more avaricious, more ambitious, more luxurious. *Nil vero est tam damnosum bonis moribus, quam in aliquo spectaculo desidere. • Tunc enim per voluptatem facilius vitia surrepunt. Quid me existimas dicere? Avarior redeo, ambitiosior, luxuriosior.* Senec. ep. vii.

(b) Maroboduus and Adgandestrius, two German kings, are supposed to have been able to write, since their letters to Rome are mentioned, *Annals*, b. iii. f. 63, and 88; but their countrymen in general were rude and illiterate. Many centuries passed before reading and writing came into general use. In the middle ages, kings and warriors were not able to write; and it is well known that in this country a lord of parliament was, by law, entitled to his *clergy*, though he could not read. The art of writing is finely described in the following translation of a passage from Lucan:

The noble art from Cadmus took its rise,
 Of painting words, and speaking to the eyes.
 He first in wondrous magic fetters bound
 The airy voice, and stopt the flying sound.
 The various figures, by his pencil wrought,
 Gave colour and a body to the thought.

But

But this art was almost wholly unknown in Germany, and, by consequence, love-letters were not in use.

(c) By a law of the Visigoths, if a woman was guilty of adultery, but not taken in the fact, it was competent to her husband to accuse her before the magistrate; and if the charge was supported by evidence, both the offenders were delivered over to the husband, to be dealt with as he should think proper. If the husband killed both in the fact, it was justifiable. *Laws of the Visigoths*, tit. *De Adulteriis*, lex. 3.

(d) The hair long and flowing was considered as an ornament, and therefore by the Salic law, tit. xxviii. to cut off the hair of an innocent person, was an injury severely punished. In some parts of what is now Westphalia, the women took upon them to execute justice on the adulterers, following her with stripes from village to village, and with small knives inflicting wounds, till they left the offender breathless, or at the point of death. See an Epistle from St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, to Ethelbald, King of England, in Michael Alford's *Annales Ecclesiæ Anglo-Saxonicæ*, tom. ii.

(e) Salvien, a priest of Marseilles, who wrote in the fifth century, has left a remarkable parallel between the manners of the Romans and the Germans, at the time when those fierce invaders were making their inroads in every quarter of Europe. The progress of vice was such, that a general corruption of manners was diffused through the wide extent of the empire. Salvien says, that the barbarians seemed destined not only to conquer, but to reform the vices of the age. Wherever the Goths and Vandals carried their victorious arms, no kind of

licentiousness was seen, except among the old inhabitants. The Romans loved debauchery; the Barbarians detested it: the Romans considered adultery as an elegant fashion; the Barbarians thought it a crime. See Salvien, *De Gubernatione Dei*, lib. vii. Juvenal, who wrote in the time of Domitian, and is supposed to have died in the reign of Adrian, has shewn the depravity of the age in which he lived; and yet those dissolute manners were tenderly called *the way of the world*. Seneca has observed, when enormous vices are grown so general as to be the manners of a people, no remedy can be expected. *Definit esse remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia, mores sunt.*

(f) The facility, with which divorces were obtained at Rome, introduced an indefinite right of renouncing one marriage and embracing another, as often as caprice or a new passion dictated. The letter of the law was observed, but the spirit was grossly counteracted. *Lusus erat sacræ connubia fallere tædæ*, says Martial; and the same author, in an excellent epigram, tells us that the Julian law against adultery was revived, and yet, in less than thirty days, Thelesina married her tenth husband; if that may be called a marriage, which in fact was no better than a legal adultery. To such an artful woman, says the poet, the more simple vice of a common prostitute is preferable.

Julia lex populis ex quo, Faustine, renata est,
 Atque intrare domos iussa pudicitia est;
 Aut minus, aut certè non plus tricesima lux est,
 Et nubit decimo jam Thelesina viro.
 Quæ nubit toties, non nubit, adultera lege est;
 Offendor mœchâ simpliciore minus.

MARTIAL, lib. vi. epig. 7.

Chastity was in higher respect among the tribes of Germany.
 According

According to Valerius Maximus, the Cimbrian women, who marched with the army into Italy, were all virgins, and assigned that reason to Marius, when they made it their request to be admitted into the vestal order. See this Tract, f. 8, note (*a*), where it will be seen that those women strangled themselves, rather than expose their persons to the passions of the Roman foldiers. Valerius Maximus adds, if the gods, on the day of battle, had inspired the men with equal fortitude, Marius would never have boasted of his Teutonic victory. Valerius Maximus, b. vi. ch. i.

(*g*) In the Epistle from St. Boniface, already cited in this section, note (*d*), we are told, that among the *Vinedians*, a rude and barbarous people, the sanctity of marriage was observed with so much zeal and mutual affection, that the wife, on the death of her husband, dispatched herself, that her body might be burned on the same funeral pile with the man she loved. Procopius (*de Bell. Goth.* lib. ii.) gives an account of the same conjugal fidelity among the Heruli. It is needless to mention the same practice among the widows of Malabar, and other parts of India.

(*b*) Great latitude was allowed by the Roman law to the paternal authority. The father, contrary to all the rights of nature, had an absolute jurisdiction over his children. He could condemn them to death. Such a power, nothing short of absolute dominion, gave birth to a train of evils. Infants were abandoned, thrown into rivers, and exposed to wild beasts. See Minucius Felix, in *Octavio*, cap. 50. Laws were, undoubtedly, made to stem the torrent of licentiousness, but those
were

were eluded by the arts of procuring abortion. Juvenal inveighs against that horrible practice with his usual spirit :

Hæ tamen et partûs subeunt discrimen, et omnes
Nutricis tolerant, fortunâ urgente, labores.
Sed jacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto ;
Tantum artes hujus, tantum medicamina possunt,
Quæ steriles facit, atque homines in ventre necandos
Conducit. JUVENAL, sat. vi. v. 592.

Yet these, though poor, the pain of child-bed bear,
And, without nurses, their own infants rear.
You seldom hear of the rich mantle spread
For the babe, born in the great lady's bed.
Such is the pow'r of herbs; such arts they use
To make them barren, or their fruit to lose.

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Such were the manners of an enlightened people, who were so prodigal of the name of Barbarians to all the nations round them. How much superior was the natural reason, the instinct, it may be said, of the German tribes, to the boasted philosophy of Greece and Rome! It is remarkable that Pliny the elder apologizes for the unnatural practice of the Romans. The prolific vigour, he says, of some women, who would otherwise be overstocked with children, calls for this indulgence. *Quoniam aliquarum fœcunditas plena liberis venia indiget.* Lib. xxix. The Germans felt the power of parental fondness, and accordingly we see in the Salic law (tit. xxviii. *De Homicidiis Parvulorum*) that their descendants imposed various pecuniary fines for cruelty to infants; for killing a woman with child, or a woman not past child-bearing; with many other clauses, all tending to protect the rising generation. The Americans were not deficient in affection for their offspring; but it does not

appear that they attended to the means of multiplying their numbers. Charlevoix relates an instance of filial affection blended with savage ferocity. An Iroquois, who had served in the French army against his own nation, met his father in an engagement, and in the act of going to give the mortal blow, discovered who he was. He stopped his arm, and said to his prostrate father, "The life which I received from you, this day I give you. Let me not meet you again; for now I owe you nothing." Charlevoix, letter xxi. p. 89.

(i) Justin says of the Scythians, Justice is cultivated in that country, more through the disposition of the people, than by declaratory laws. *Iustitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus.* Justin, b. ii. ch. 3. The same writer adds, It is altogether astonishing, that natural instinct should teach a savage race, what neither moral wisdom, nor the precepts of philosophy, could establish in Greece. Elegant manners yielded to uninstructed nature. Ignorance of vice did more among barbarians than all the boasted systems of a polished nation. *Prorsus ut admirabile videatur, hoc illis naturam dare, quod Græci longâ sapientium doctrinâ, præceptisque philosophorum consequi nequeunt, cultosque mores incultæ barbariæ collatione superari. Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in his cognitio virtutis.* Justin, lib. ii. f. 2.

Section XX.

(e) Seneca, on the subject of training a youth in the way he is to follow, says, if he was born in Germany, he would, even in his infancy, brandish his little javelin. In another work, he mentions the promptitude of the German mind; the love of arms, to which they are born and bred; their patience
and

and firmness under every hardship, and their neglect of all covering for their bodies, while they have no retreat to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather. Seneca, *epist.* xxxvi. and, *De Ira*, lib. i. f. 11. Charlevoix describes the American children wallowing in dirt, and reared in the same manner as the German infants, without the help of a nurse; a circumstance mentioned by Tacitus, for the sake of glancing obliquely at the fashion that prevailed with the Roman matrons, who committed their children to nurses and Greek servants. For more of this, see the *Dialogue concerning Oratory*, f. 29.

(b) The age of manhood seems to have commenced at the end of their twelfth year. Stout and well-grown boys were capable of bearing arms, in a country where the soldier was equipped with light armour. Hence King Theodoric says, It is absurd that the young men, who are fit for military service, should be deemed incapable of conducting themselves. Valour fixes the age of manhood. He, who is able to pierce the foe, ought to combat every vice. See Cassiodorus, *Epist.* i. Montesquieu observes, that Childebert II. was fifteen years old, when Gontram his uncle declared him to be of full age. "I have put," he said, "this javelin in your hands, to inform you, that I now resign the kingdom to your care:" and then, turning to the assembly, "You see that Childebert is a man; obey him." Montesquieu adds, that, by the Ripuarian laws, at the end of fifteen years the ability of bearing arms and the age of manhood went together. The youth had then acquired the strength of body that was requisite for his defence in combat. Amongst the Burgundians, who made use of the judiciary combat, the youth was of full age at fifteen. When the armour of the Franks was light, fifteen might be deemed the age of discretion.

discretion. In succeeding times heavy armour came into use, and then the term of minority was enlarged. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxviii. ch. 26 and 27.

(c) Cæsar gives the same account. The young men who are not acquainted with the union of the sexes, till the age of twenty, are highly applauded. *Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali vires, nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vigesimum fœminæ notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus. De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. f. 20.*

(d) Tacitus uses the words, *pares validæque miscentur*, that is, they are married equal and robust. Brotier understands the expression as applying to the equality of conditions, or a marriage among persons of equal rank, and he cites laws from the German code, annexing penalties to those of both sexes who marry persons of inferior rank. But the equality here intended by Tacitus seems from the context to be no other than maturity of years in the contracting parties. The distinctions of rank, which took place among the Franks in Gaul, were unknown to the German tribes in their own country.

(e) We find in Charlevoix, that, though it be true that there is no nation in the world where the female sex is more despised, it is equally true that the children belong to the mother only, and the father is always held as a stranger to his offspring, while, at the same time, he is respected as the master of the cabin. Charlevoix, letter xix. In some parts of Asia and Africa filiation was reckoned from the mother only, perhaps because in those countries the real father was equivocal. Among the

(f) Thus we see that, by custom (the unwritten law of the Germans), the females were excluded from the succession to the lands of their deceased father. What those lands were is clearly explained by Montesquieu. While the Franks, he says, lived in their own country, their whole stock consisted of slaves, herds of cattle, horses, arms, and accoutrements. Lands for cultivation were assigned to them by the state for a year only, and after that time it was resumed by the public. What then were the lands to which the male issue succeeded? Every hut or cabin had a precinct of ground, and that was the estate that descended to the sons, or went in the male line. It was called SALIC land, because the mansion of a German was called SAL, and the space inclosing it SALBAC, the homestead. When the FRANKS issued from their own country, and gained possessions in Gaul, they still continued to give to their new settlements the name of SALIC land; and hence, the law of the FRANKS that regulated the course of descent, was called the SALIC LAW. Rapin has left us an elaborate dissertation on the subject. He takes notice of two different editions of the Salic law; but the last, it seems, is not correct. From the former, Rapin states six rules of succession to land property. 1. If a man dies without issue, his father or his mother shall inherit. 2. If he leaves neither father nor mother, his brother or his sister shall succeed. 3. If there is no surviving brother or sister, the sister of his mother shall be entitled. 4. If the mother has left no sister, the sister of the father shall succeed. 5. If the father has left no sister, the next relation of the male line shall have the estate. 6. No part of the SALIC land shall pass to the females; but the whole inheritance descends to the male line, that is, the sons shall be entitled to the succession. Rapin has entered into a long discussion, but Montesquieu was master of his subject, and

Germans there was not the same room for jealousy. It is true, that the woman convicted of adultery was shorn of her locks, and driven out of the village; but still marriage was deemed a sacred institution, and conjugal fidelity was a female virtue throughout the nation. The women reared their infants at their breast, and trusted nothing to nurses or servants. The husband hunted, or lounged by the fire-side in stupid apathy. He dwelt in one hut with his family; but he valued them no more than if they were all assembled by accident, and for his offspring he felt no solicitude. Filial affection was, by consequence, fixed on the mother. Add to this the respect, nothing short of veneration, which was paid to the sex by all the different tribes. These considerations may account for the affection of the maternal uncle for his sister's children. It was for this reason, says Montesquieu, that the early French historians dwell so much on the affection of the kings of the Franks for their sisters, and the sisters' children. By the Salic law, the sister of the mother was preferred to the father's sister; and, when a woman became a widow, she fell under the guardianship of the female relations of her deceased husband. Moreover, when a man was guilty of homicide, the law allowed him to deliver up his whole substance, and his relations were to make good the deficiency. In that case, after the father, mother, and brother, the sister of the mother was to pay, as if that was the tenderest tie. We read in Gregory of Tours, b. viii. ch. 18 and 20, the rage of Gontram at Levigild's ill treatment of Ingunda, his niece: a war was carried on by Childebert her brother to revenge the injury done to his sister. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 22. The seeds of these several customs among the Franks are plainly seen in the German manners.

(f) Thus

with the brevity of Tacitus has placed the whole in the clearest light. The rule among the Germans in their own country was, that the SALIC land should go to the sword, and not to distaff. The daughters were excluded, because they passed by marriage into other families. The Salic law was founded on the customs and manners of Germany. If the father left children, the daughters were excluded, and the right of inheritance vested in the sons. The well-known law of the French monarchy, which excludes the female line from the succession to the crown, had its origin in the woods of Germany. It is true that, in process of time, the law of the Franks gave way to the civil law; and women, though incapable of performing military duty, were allowed to succeed to fiefs, which, for that reason, were called improper fiefs. The SALIC LAW lost its force in France, except as to the succession to the crown, in which respect it has remained inflexible from the earliest period of the monarchy to the present time. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 22. See also Rapin's Dissertation.

(g) To be possessed of great wealth, by whatever means acquired, and to be at the same time old without issue, gave the highest credit and importance to a Roman citizen. He was surrounded by flatterers, who paid their court, and with emulation sent handsome presents, in hopes of being made testamentary heirs, or, at least, of obtaining a legacy. The advantages of this situation were such, that fathers often renounced their children, in order to enjoy the incense of adulation. Rome was divided into two classes; the rich, who amused their followers with expectations; and the legacy-hunters, who panted for sudden riches. Seneca has drawn, as it were in miniature, a striking picture of the avaricious sycophant: he is a vulture, lying

lying in wait for a carcass. *Vultur est, cadaver expectat.* Horace, Juvenal, and Martial have made both ranks of men a subject of ridicule. See *Annals*, b. iii. l. 25.

Section XXI.

(a) In the rude state of society, before men had any notion of an umpire or magistrate to decide their differences, it was natural that every man should exercise a right to repel injuries from himself and his family. It was also natural that he should demand atonement from the wrong-doer. Resentment is an active principle in the frame of man. In the minds of savages it inflamed a spirit of revenge. Their relations, their friends, and their clan joined in the quarrel. Whole tribes waged war against each other for the sake of an individual. Ties of consanguinity and the sentiments of social affection contributed to aggravate the mischief. Every rude uncivilized state was filled with intestine broils. It was the pride of a German (and the same may be seen among the savages of America) to expect redress from the vigour of his own arm. He thought it infamous, says Dr. Robertson, to give up to another the right of determining what reparation he should accept, or with what vengeance he should rest satisfied. It is well known that in Britain, when a man belonging to a particular tribe or clan committed a murder, vengeance was pursued not only against the offender and his family, but against the whole clan; and this spirit of revenge was distinguished by the name of *deadly feud*. During the short reign of King Edmund, a law was passed forbidding the deadly feud, except between the relations of the deceased and the murderer himself (see Hume's *Hist.* App. i.); so late was it before men could be taught to resign their natural rights

rights for the sake of enjoying a surer protection under a regular government. And yet we see some rudiments of civil society among the ancient Germans. They began to form an idea of a public interest in the preservation of the peace. We have seen in this tract, §. xii. and in the notes (*d*) and (*e*), that a composition for offences was made by a mulct of cattle, and that the king or chiefs of the state received a fine for the violation of the public peace. The savage, who before that time depended on his own martial vigour, was willing to resign his resentment to the direction of the magistrate, and to receive a stated compensation. The spirit of revenge was appeased, and the *deadly feud* of course gave way to the new jurisdiction.

(*b*) This compromise for manslaughter and other personal injuries had the happy effect of curbing the ferocity of a barbarous race; but still the principle of the composition was a satisfaction to the injured party. Avarice was called in to appease revenge. A debt was supposed to be due for the crime committed, and this appears to have been established in the remotest ages. Homer mentions a composition for murder:

————— If a brother bleed,
On just atonement we remit the deed.
A fire the slaughter of his son forgives;
The price of blood discharg'd, the murd'rer lives.

9th Iliad, v. 743.

And again in the description of Achilles's shield:

There in the forum swarm a numerous train,
The subject of debate, a townsman slain:
One pleads the fine discharg'd, which one denied,
And bade the public and the laws decide.

18th Iliad, v. 577.

This

This mode of composition for crimes and injuries was adopted by the various communities in Germany; but their descendants, after their irruption into Gaul, Italy, and Spain, still claimed the right of waging private war for private injuries. Hostilities continued during a number of years, and the animosity of the contending parties laid a scene of blood. Charlemagne endeavoured by a positive law to abolish the mischief; but the genius of one man was not sufficient to eradicate a custom so firmly established. See Robertson, *Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 54. Some of the prices settled by the Salic law for a variety of offences may be seen in this tract, f. 12, note (*d*). By the law of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, the price of the king's head, or his WEREGILD, was fixed at 30,000 *thrimfas*, a species of coin whose value is uncertain. The price of the prince's head was 15,000 *thrimfas*; the bishop's or alderman's, 8,000; the sheriff's, 4,000; a thane's or clergyman's, 2,000; a ceorle's, 266. Hume's *History*, App. i. To complete this system, it remained to compel the delinquent to pay, and the person injured to accept, a proper satisfaction. This point being once established, men resigned their savage rights of revenge, and the civil magistrate was enabled to preserve public order and tranquillity. And thus, says Blackstone, by the Irish Brehon law, in case of murder, the BREHON, or judge, was used to compound between the murderer and the friends of the deceased, by causing the malefactor to give unto them, or the child or wife of him that was slain, a recompense, which they called an ERIACH. And in our Saxon laws (particularly those of King Athelstan) the several WEREGILDS for homicide are established in progressive order, from the death of the ceorle, or peasant, up to that of the king himself. In the laws of Henry I. we have an account of what other offences were then redeemable by WEREGILD, and what were

were not so. Blackstone, vol. iv. ch. 23. In process of time, when the civil union was better understood, and men saw that, by depositing their resentments in the hands of the state, their personal safety and their property could be better defended, crimes were no longer considered as mere personal injuries, but were punished as offences against the good order and peace of the community. Revenge and personal satisfaction for the wrong committed were no longer the objects in view. The public justice of the community was found to be the best protection, and, in a regular but gradual progression, as succeeding generations became more polished and enlightened, that system of jurisprudence grew up, by which men find their lives, their liberty, and their property sufficiently guarded. See an account of the proceedings of the American savages in cases of murder, differing but little from the customs of the Germans, *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 180 and 181.

(c) Tacitus is confirmed by Julius Cæsar, who says, the laws of hospitality are inviolable among the Germans. Their visitors are sure of a cordial reception. Their houses are open to every guest. Book vi. §. 22. Lafitau informs us, that the laws of hospitality are held sacred by the savages of America. The guest, on his first arrival, never tells who he is, or whence he came, nor does the master of the house make any enquiry. No time is lost in that exchange of compliments so much cultivated by polished nations. The stranger, as soon as he enters the cabin, has his repast laid before him, and he sits down to it without ceremony. His account of himself is always given after his meal, and sometimes at the end of four, six, or ten days. *Mœurs des Sauvages*, vol. ii. See an Account of the European Settlements in America, vol. i. p. 171. Montesquieu observes,

observes, that hospitality flourishes most where the manners are rude and simple. The spirit of commerce may unite civilized nations, but individuals are not the more connected. Every thing in those countries has its price. The sentiments of the heart, the social affections, and the virtues of humanity are exchanged and bartered in a course of traffic. Barbarians have little or no attention to their interest. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xx. ch. 2. The Burgundian law imposed a fine on every man who refused his roof and fire-side to the coming guest; but the Salic law provided, that no man should harbour an atrocious criminal.

Section XXII.

(a) Contrivances for bathing in warm water occur in the books of almost all travellers in North America. The inhabitants of the south have recourse to lakes and rivers. Lafitau informs us, that the people of Peru and Mexico, living under the intense heat of the sun, as soon as they rise in the morning, betake themselves, men and women, to the sea-side, where that advantage is near at hand, or to the nearest river, and there exercise themselves in the water for a considerable time. *Mœurs des Sauvages*, vol. i. p. 265. The severity of the winter towards the north requires the use of hot stoves. The Russians are remarkable for the same custom. Their vapour-baths, to which men and women resort promiscuously, and, after exciting a violent perspiration, go forth without any covering to roll in the snow, are described at length by Abbé la Chappe, in his account of his *Journey through Siberia to Tobolski*.

(b) The manner in which the Romans placed themselves at table, differed from most other nations. Three couches,

called triclinia, were ranged in order, but so as to leave the end of the table open for the approach of the servants. Three persons lay, in effeminate luxury, on each of the couches; sometimes four or five. Horace mentions four:

Sæpe tribus lectis videas cœnare quaternos.

Cicero, in Pisonem, says, there was nothing in his house neat or elegant. Five Greeks, and often more, lay crowded on one couch. *Nil apud hunc lautum, nihil elegans. Græci quinque stipati in lectulis, sæpe plures.* Tacitus seems never to be better pleased, than when he has opportunity of passing an oblique censure on the manners of the Romans. Accordingly we find, that the Germans in a more manly way seated themselves each at his own table. That this was the primitive custom of remote ages, appears frequently in Homer; and Virgil, his great imitator, says,

Hæ sacris sedes epulis; hic arjete cæso
Perpetuis soliti patres confidere mensis.

Æneid. vii. v. 175.

This was their temple, this their court of state;
Here at their sacred feast the fathers sat.

PITT'S VIRGIL.

(c) The same love of liquor, with all its consequential mischiefs, has been observed by all travellers among the savage tribes of America. Charlevoix says, the avarice of the French dealers introduced drunkenness among them, and that in the streets of Montreal, husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters were frequently seen, in a state of intoxication, worrying one another with their teeth like so many enraged wolves. Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, letter viii.

See

See also the *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 169. To suppress the evil consequences of intoxication among the Franks, the SALIC LAW ordained, that if a man were killed at a convivial meeting, in company with five or seven, the survivors should convict one as the offender, or jointly pay the composition for his death. Tit. *De Homicidiis in Convivio factis*.

(d) Lipsius says, that, when he read Xenophon's account of the Persians (*Cyropædia*, lib. viii.), he was struck with the wonderful conformity of the eastern nations to the manners of the ancient Germans. See the Speech of Civilis in a sacred grove, when all were warm with liquor. *Hist.* b. iv. f. 14. Plutarch, in his *Symposiacs*, b. vii. qu. 9, observes, that it was the custom of the Greeks, as well as the Persians, to debate of state affairs at their convivial meetings. He refers to a passage in Homer, where Nestor advises Agamemnon to prepare a feast, and then hear the ablest counsellor. For this Plutarch gives a reason: There is, he says, a wineless drunkenness excited by anger, malice, ambition, and other turbulent passions; but wine rather overcomes the bad affections, and stirs and agitates the generous emotions of the heart. Among the American savages, when any business of consequence is transacted, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole tribe partakes. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 178.

Section XXIII.

(a) Pliny the elder observes, that the Ægyptians had their intoxicating liquor distilled from grain, which their country produced in great abundance. But while the Earth thought that she was yielding large crops of corn, the wit of man, ever ingenious in new modes of vice, derived the art of making even

water an intoxicating liquor. *Heu, mira vitiorum solertia! inventum est quemadmodum aqua quoque inebriaret.* *Nat. Hist.* lib. xiv. f. 29.

(b) What Tacitus calls *lac concretum*, coagulated milk, Cæsar calls by the name of cheese. *Major pars victus eorum lacte, et caseo, et carne consistit.* *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. f. 21. Pliny the elder wonders, that a race of men, who lived so much on milk, had not the skill to make cheese. They converted it into a kind of whey and butter, and used it as an unguent. *Nat. Hist.* b. xi. f. 96. Sidonius Apollinaris, in a little poem on the Germans, tells us, that they made use of butter to oil their hair.

Infundunt acido comam butyro.

(c) The refinements of the culinary science were unknown to the Germans. Pomponius Mela says, that they fed on the raw flesh of animals, either recently killed, or after it was pounded in the hide by their feet and hands to some degree of softness. See Mela, b. iii. ch. 3. The Romans, on the contrary, studied the pleasures of the table, and luxury was in such vogue, that, as we are told by Pliny, the price of a triumph was not too much for a good cook. The man who by his exquisite skill could enable his master to eat up his fortune, was in the highest request. *Coqui triumphorum pretiis parabuntur; nullusque prope jam mortalis æstimatur pluris, quam qui peritissimè censum domini mergit.* *Plin.* lib. ix. f. 17. Statius, in an elegant poem, giving an account of the manner in which he passed a night with a friend, says, they had no fashionable dishes, no rarities from distant climates, and no wines of an age to vie with consuls of ancient date. Wretched they, who know the difference between the Phasian bird and the crane of Rhodopè; who

who can tell what kind of goose has the largest liver ; why the Tuscan boar exceeds the Umbrian ; and on which coast may be found the best bed of oysters !

————— Neque enim ludibria ventris
 Haufimus, aut epulas diverso a sole petitas,
 Vinaque perpetuis ævo certantia fastis.
 Ah ! miseri, quos nosse juvat quid Phasidos ales
 Distat ab hybernâ Rhodopes grue ; quis magis anser
 Extâ ferat ; cur Thuscus aper generosior Umbro ;
 Lubrica quâ recubant conchylia mollius algâ.
 STAT. SYLV. lib. iv. poem. 6.

Florus relates, that the Cimbrians, after their expedition over the Alps, lost all their ferocity by the use of bread, meat dressed at the fire, and the delicious wines of Italy ; and, by consequence, were more easily defeated by Marius. Florus, b. iii. ch. 3.

(d) Thus we know, that the Europeans, when they settled in North America, soon found it their interest to supply the natives with spirituous liquors. They waged a war of gin and brandy against the various tribes, some of which have been subdued, and others almost totally extirpated by their own drunkenness. See Charlevoix, letter viii. The same writer says, that a savage, being asked by a French officer what he thought the brandy, which he loved so much, was made of, gave for answer : “ It is made of *tongues and hearts* ; for when I have drunk of it, “ I fear nothing ; and I talk like an angel.” Letter xxi. p. 83.

Section XXIV.

(a) Public exhibitions cost the Athenians more than their wars. At Rome the expence was enormous, and the profession
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of a player was so profitable, that, according to Pliny, Roscius gained annually a sum almost incredible. In the luxury of the times that followed, immense fortunes were acquired by the public performers.

(b) The rage for gaming, which has been observed among barbarians in almost every quarter of the globe, may be accounted for without much difficulty. The life of a savage is passed in war, in hunting, fishing, and in scenes of plunder and rapine. When that employment no longer calls for his exertions, he sinks down in listless indolence. The ordinary occurrences of the day have nothing to rouse his faculties. Tired of himself and of languid apathy, he wants some object to excite and agitate his passions. Gaming answers this purpose. Every thing is put to the decision of chance; hope and fear succeed each other; and joy and rage, and pleasure and disappointment excite the strongest emotions of the soul. The danger of losing his whole stock, and even his liberty, relieves the savage from the oppression under which he laboured. The deeper the play, the more his passions are alarmed; and that inward conflict, that agitation of the mind, is the incentive that makes him delight in games of chance. Brotier quotes a remarkable passage from St. Ambrose, who gives a lively picture of a barbarous people engaged at play. The Huns, he says, a fierce and warlike race, are always subject to a set of usurers, who lend them what they want for the purposes of gaming. They live without laws, and yet obey the laws of dice. *Et cum sine legibus vivant, aleæ solius legibus obedire.* St. Ambrose adds, that when the unsuccessful gamester has lost his all, he sets his liberty, and even his life, upon a single cast, and is accounted infamous if he does not pay his debts of honour. Upon this principle, a person, well known

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to the Roman emperor, suffered death at the command of the winner. Lafitau has an entire chapter concerning the love of play among the savages of America. He describes their manner of supplying the want of dice, by forming the bones of animals to a convenient size, with six faces, but two larger than the rest, one of them black, and the other of a pale yellow hue. One half of a village plays against the other, and often village against village. They hazard all they have, and frequently retire stark naked in the deep snow and rigour of the winter. They even stake their liberty, and go willingly into servitude. Lafitau cites Father Labat to prove the same custom among the negroes of Africa. *Mœurs des Sauvages*, vol. ii. p. 338 to 359. See also Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 12 and 13. Dr. Robertson says, the same causes, which so often prompt persons in civilized life to have recourse to this pastime, render it the delight of the savage. Both run with transport to whatever is interesting enough to stir and agitate their minds. Hence the Americans, who at other times are so indifferent, so phlegmatic, so silent, and animated with so few desires, as soon as they engage at play, become rapacious, impatient, noisy, and almost frantic with eagerness. Their furs, their domestic utensils, their clothes, their arms are staked at the gaming-table; and when all is lost, high as their sense of independence is, in a wild emotion of despair or hope, they will often risk their personal liberty upon a single cast. *Hist. of America*, vol. ii. p. 202 and 203. The love of play and dice is, undoubtedly, a passion of great antiquity, and will not easily be eradicated. A writer in Churchill's *Voyages* says, he went to St. Cosmo, half a league from Mexico, to see the house and gardens of Don John de Vargas; the first finely finished, and the second full of fountains. This gentleman keeps his coach and six, spends six thousand pieces of eight a year,

year, without any other revenue but what he has from cards and dice. On some nights he wins thirty thousand pieces of eight. Churchill's *Voyages*, vol. iv. p. 508. Have not such persons been heard of in Europe, and in modern times? St. Ambrose, in the tract quoted above, assigns the reason: Dice have their laws, which the courts of justice cannot conquer. *Habet et alea suas leges, quas jura fori non solvunt.* See Senftlebius, *De Alea Veterum*, p. 14.

Section XXV.

(a) See in Tacitus (*Annals*, b. xiv. f. 43) an account of Pedanius Secundus, who had fourscore servants in his family, with specific names for their several departments. This was called his city establishment, *familia urbana*. In the country the Romans had their rural slaves under different appellations. In Germany the slaves were prædial servants, not indeed at liberty, but annexed to the soil, *glebæ adscripti*. Their condition, Brotier observes, was the same as that of the vassals, or SERFS, who, a few centuries ago, were so numerous in every part of Europe. The German conquerors, in imitation of the Romans, had their real slaves, while those who remained in a state of rural vassalage were called LIDI. This distinction appears in the SALIC LAW, tit. xxx. See in Spelman's *Glossary*, title *Villanus*. Villenage was a species of tenure manifestly derived from the Germans.

(b) A composition was paid for homicide; but still, it seems, a man might kill his slave with impunity. The Salic law provided afterwards, that he who killed the slave of another, was obliged to pay a certain fine, and the expence of the suit.

(c) The

(c) The slave at Rome, when manumitted, was called LIBERTUS, and his descendants were LIBERTINI. In process of time, when the Franks, in their new possessions, became acquainted with money, the ceremony of enfranchisement was performed by striking out of the slave's hand a DENARIUS, and from that circumstance the freedman was called DENARIATUS. Their rank, however, was little higher than that of a slave; and by the Ripuarian law, tit. lvii. lex. 4, if a freedman died without issue, his fortune went to the public treasury.

(d) As often as an opportunity offers, Tacitus has an eye to the manners of his own country. He glances, in this place, at Pallas, Narcissus, Icelus, and others of that description, who, under Claudius, Nero, and Galba, rose to the first eminence in the state. The tyranny of such men was a galling yoke to every liberal mind. Nerva, Trajan, and the Antonines never transacted any kind of public business by the intervention of their freedmen. We are told that Adrian, seeing one of his slaves walking, with a familiar air, between two senators, ordered a person to go directly and give the impudent fellow a box on the face, with this monition, "Learn more respect for those, to whom you may be transferred as a slave." Tacitus informs us, that Agricola never suffered his slaves or freedmen to play the part of agents in the affairs of his administration. See *Life of Agricola*, f. 19. It is observed by Montesquieu (*Spirit of Laws*, b. xv. ch. 18.), that the freedmen under the emperors paid their court to the weaknesses of their masters, and then taught them to reign by their vices, not their virtues. It is remarkable that the same abuse of power that prevailed at Rome under the worst of the emperors, was also felt in those parts of Germany where monarchy and despotism were established.

(c) We have here four distinct ranks; the nobles, the men of ingenuous birth, the freedmen, and the slaves. In Gaul, according to Cæsar, there were two principal orders of men, the druids and the nobles, the common people being little better than slaves. Book vi. f. 12. The Franks, in imitation of their German ancestors, had four classes of men; their nobles, their ingenuous, their *LIDI*, and their slaves: and this, Montesquieu observes, is clearly proved by the composition for offences proportioned to the different ranks of the several complainants. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. ch. 25. See *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. xxxvii. p. 541.

Section XXVI.

(a) The practice of laying out money at exorbitant interest, and exacting payment with harsh severity, was an ancient grievance at Rome, and a perpetual cause of clamour and sedition. Laws, it is true, were made at various times to suppress the mischief; but those laws were eluded, because, as Tacitus says, the public good gave way to private emolument. See *Annals*, b. vi. f. 16, and note (a).

(b). The critics make it a question, whether it should be *per vices* or *per vicos*. But whether we understand that the Germans cultivated the lands by turns, or removed to different places, the difference does not seem to be material. It is, however, ascertained by Cæsar, that the magistrates portioned out yearly to every canton or family a quantity of land in what part of the country they thought proper, and in the next year removed to some other spot. Many reasons are assigned for this practice; lest, seduced by habit and continuance, they should learn to prefer tillage to war; lest a desire of enlarging
their

their possessions should prevail, and prompt the stronger to expel the weaker ; lest they should become curious in their buildings, in order to guard against the extremes of heat and cold ; lest avarice should get footing among them ; and, in fine, to preserve contentment and equanimity among the people, when they find their possessions nothing inferior to those of the most powerful. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. f. 21. See Duncan's *Cæsar*, b. vi. f. 20. Horace describes the Scythians wandering, in like manner, from place to place, and never occupying the same spot for more than a single year.

Campestres melius Scythæ,
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ,
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annuâ.

Lib. iii. ode 24.

(c) In the first ages of the world, the year was distinguished by two seasons only. Moses mentions seed-time and harvest, summer and winter. *Genesis*, ch. viii. In process of time, the exertions of industry marked out other periods ; but all that the Germans wanted of the earth was corn and grain, and, the harvest being over, they had no fruits to expect in autumn. Brotier says, the Germans at this day have no distinct word in their language for the autumnal season. The term that satisfies them is HERBST, harvest. Beyond that period, the ancient Germans knew no productions of the earth, having neither orchards nor fruit-trees ; and accordingly the Anglo-Saxon language has no name for autumn. That word in English was borrowed from the Latin. The *fall of the leaf* is a paraphrasti-

cal expression, denoting that season of the year by the decay of nature, not by the maturity of her fruits.

Section XXVII.

(a) The simplicity of the Germans is placed by Tacitus, as often as the occasion permits, in direct contrast to Roman luxury and magnificence. Pliny relates, that Cæcilius Claudius Isidorus ordered for himself a pompous funeral, which cost a sum almost incredible. Book xxxii. And the same author says, that Arabia does not produce in a whole year the quantity of spice consumed by Nero at the funeral of Poppæa. Book xii. The Romans borrowed their superfluous pomp from the eastern nations, and particularly from the Persians, who did not burn the dead bodies, but deposited them in sepulchres of superb structure, where they heaped an immense quantity of spices, and a profusion of rich ornaments. Plutarch mentions at the funeral of Sylla two hundred and ten plates of exquisite spices, and the images of Sylla and his lictor constructed with frankincense and cinnamon. The following lines in Lucan, describing the last honours paid by Cornelia to the remains of Pompey the Great, happily illustrate the custom of the Romans :

Collegit vestes miserieque insignia Magni,
Armaque, et impressas auro, quas gesserat olim,
Exuvias, pictasque togas, velamina summo
Ter conspecta Jovi, funestoque intulit igni.

PHARSAL. lib. ix. v. 175.

To her lord's shade she builds a fun'ral pile,
And decks it proud with many a noble spoil.
There shone his arms with antique gold inlaid,
There the rich robes, which she herself had made;
The relics of his past victorious days
Now this his latest trophy serve to raise,
And in one common flame together blaze.

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ROWE, b. ix. v. 294.

(b) The things which a German valued most, were his arms and his horse. These were added to the funeral pile, with a persuasion that the deceased would have the same delight in his new state of existence. Hence the same custom in almost every quarter of the globe, particularly in the northern parts of Europe. It is true that Tacitus does not expressly tell us that the Germans believed in the immortality of the soul; but in sect. 39, we find, that they had a conception of a Supreme God, the Governor of the world; *regnator omnium Deus, cætera subiecta atque parentia*. And since it is evident, that the Icelandic mythology attributed to the Deity infinite power, boundless knowledge, and incorruptible justice; since it appears that they did not allow the Divinity to be represented under any corporeal form, nor to be confined within the inclosure of walls; and since they were taught to offer up their adoration in woods and consecrated forests; it may be fairly inferred from that striking coincidence in the religious opinions of both nations, that the belief of a future state was part of the German creed. See *Northern Antiquities*, ch. v. We read, that in the tomb of Childeric, king of the Franks, his spear, his sword, with his other warlike weapons, and even his horse's head, were found in his tomb. An human skull was also discovered, supposed to be that of his faithful follower. See Montfaucon, *Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, tom. i. p. 10. Lafitau, Charlevoix, and other travellers, describe the same notions of a future state, and the same funeral ceremonies, among the savages of America. Dr. Robertson says, as they imagine that departed spirits begin their career anew in the world whither they are gone, they bury, together with the bodies of the dead, their bow, their arrows, and other weapons used in hunting or war; they deposit in their tomb the skins or stuffs of which they make garments, Indian corn, venison,

venison, domestic utensils, and whatever is reckoned among the necessaries in their simple mode of life. *Hist. of America*, vol. ii. b. 4. See also *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 183. Virgil describes a funeral ceremony exactly similar to that of the Germans.

At pius Æneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
Imponit, suaque arma viro, remumque tubamque.

ÆNEID. lib. vi. v. 232.

This done, to solemnize the warrior's doom,
The pious hero rais'd a lofty tomb.
The tow'ring top his well-known ensigns bore,
His arms, his once loud trump, and tap'ring oar.

PITT'S VIRGIL.

(c) Sentiments of a similar kind occur in Seneca, and, perhaps, the distinguishing critic may trace some resemblance in the expression. A year, he says, is allowed to female grief, not with intent that the whole time should be so employed, but that it should not be protracted longer. No time is prescribed to the men, because none is proper. *Annum fœminis ad lugendum constituere majores, non ut tamdiu lugerent, sed ne diutius: viris nullum legitimum tempus est, quia nullum honestum.* Epist. 64. In another place, he says, Our ancestors did not forbid grief and mourning, but they fixed the bounds; observing a just mean between the tenderness of affection and the rules of reason: they wisely said, Feel regret for your friends, but conquer it. *Majores nostri non prohibuerunt luctus, sed finierunt: optimum inter pietatem et rationem temperamentum est, et sentire desiderium, et opprimere.* *De Consol.* cap. 15. He talks in another place of birds and other animals that love their young with ardent affection; but their love dies with their offspring. This, he says,
does

does not become a man : let him continue to remember, but let him cease to grieve. *Meminiſſe perſeveret, lugere deſinat.* Epist. xcix. The ſame rule has taken place among the American ſavages. Lafitau obſerves, that the women vent their grief in ſongs of bitter lamentation, and floods of tears ; but the men conſider that exceſs as a weakneſs beneath their dignity. They fit in penſive ſilence, and grieve inwardly ; ſenſible of their loſs, but not unmanned by tenderneſs. The author of the *European Settlements in America* ſays, the women lament the loſs with bitter cries, and the moſt hideous howlings, intermixed with ſongs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceased, and thoſe of his anceſtors. The men mourn in a leſs extravagant manner. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 183.

Section XXVIII.

(a) We are now come to what may be called the ſecond part of this Treatiſe. The author has taken a ſurvey of the general manners, and he now proceeds to give a diſtinct account of the ſeveral ſtates that occupied the various diviſions of the country. It has been obſerved (ſ. i. note a), that the Upper and Lower Germany, which lay on the ſide of Gaul, *Gallia Cisrhenana*, is not comprized in this inquiry. It is Germany beyond the Rhine, *Germania Transrhenana*, that the author intends to deſcribe. He begins his chart near the head of the Rhine, and follows down the current of that river to its mouth, where it diſcharges itſelf into the German Ocean. From that place he proceeds eaſtward along the coaſt of the Baltic to the Viſtula, or the Weiſſel. Tacitus accedes to the opinion of Julius Cæſar, who ſays, that formerly the Gauls exceeded the Germans in military fame, often made war upon them, and, abounding in people, ſent ſeveral colonies over the Rhine.

Accord-

Accordingly the VOLCÆ took possession of the fertile plains in the neighbourhood of the Hercynian forest, known to Greek writers by the name of *Orcinia*. They were distinguished by their bravery, and no less remarkable than the Germans for their poverty, their abstinence, and laborious way of life. Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. f. 23. It is worthy of notice, that Tacitus calls Cæsar the most respectable of authors, SUMMUS AUCTORUM, and yet, in some instances, differs from him. It is therefore reasonable to conclude, that, whenever a variance arises between them, Tacitus did not wilfully seek occasion to contradict a writer of great authority. Many years had passed since Cæsar threw his bridge over the Rhine; the Romans had penetrated farther into the heart of the country; new channels of information were opened, and time had, probably, wrought many changes.

(b) The Hercynian forest, according to Cæsar's account, was about nine days journey in breadth; that being the only way of computing it, as the Germans were ignorant of the use of measures. It began from the confines of the Helvetians, the Nemetes, and Rauraci, and, extending towards the Danube, reached the territory of the Dacians; and, turning thence from the banks of the river, covered a vast tract of country. Numbers travelled six days into this forest, yet no one pretended to have reached the farthest limit. Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. f. 24. Pliny the elder, who had been in Germany, gives a description of this prodigious forest, lib. xvi. f. 2. Gronovius and other commentators say, that the German word is *Hirtsenwald*, importing the forest of stags. The Romans softened the barbarous sound to their own idiom, by calling it *Hercynia Silva*. It is now cut down in many places, or parcelled out into woods,
which

which go by particular names, such as the Black Forest; *La Forêt de Hartz*. Some of the woods in Bohemia are supposed to be a remnant of the Hercynian Forest. The Helvetians inhabited originally what is now called Switzerland, with a wide tract of country extending towards Lyons. The time when they migrated into Germany cannot now be ascertained. It is known, however, that they settled in Germany near the Hercynian Forest, and occupied the country now called Suabia, between the Rhine, the Mænus, or the Mein, and the Black Forest.

(c) The Boians were originally a people of Gaul, bordering on the Helvetians, in the country now called the Bourbonnois. The time of their migration into Germany cannot be fixed with precision. Livy mentions a colony of Gauls sent into Germany in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. He says, that Ambigatus, king of the Bituriges, who reigned over the Celtæ, being the third part of Gaul, sent his sister's son Sigovefus into the Hercynian Forest, in order to discharge a redundant multitude from his own dominions, which, at that time, were greatly over-peopled. Book v. f. 34. It is most probable that the Boians and Helvetians joined in that expedition. La Bletterie is of opinion that the Boians occupied part of what is now called Bohemia. He says, the old German term *heim* or *bain* signifies habitation, and thence the French derived *hameau*; and the compound word *Boiobæmum* was *the habitation of the Boians*. We read in Velleius Paterculus (lib. ii. f. 109) that *Boiobæmum* was the name of the country occupied by Maroboduus. In the reign of Augustus Cæsar the Boians, expelled by the Marcomanni, retired towards the Danube, where their territory was called Boiaria, now Bavaria.

(d) Of these two nations little is now known. It is, however, probable that the Araviscians inhabited the Upper Hungary, and that the Ofians occupied the eastern part of the country near the source of the Vistula. Tacitus doubts whether the latter were a German race, and, in sect. 43, he seems convinced, by their use of the Pannonian language, and the acquiescence with which they submitted to pay a tribute, that they were adventitious settlers in Germany. The commentators make it probable that they bordered on the Marcomanni, and occupied the northern part of Hungary beyond the Danube. See Pelloutier, *Histoire des Celtes*, vol. i. p. 184.

(e) The Treverians inhabited what is now called *the diocese of Treves*; the territory of the Nervians was near Cambray. See more concerning the Nervians, Cæsar's *Comment.* lib. ii.

(f) These three nations migrated from Germany into Gaul. The Vangiones, according to Brotier, occupied *the diocese of Worms*; the Triboci, *the diocese of Strasbourg*; the Nemetes, *the diocese of Spire*. Though originally Germans, they were all settled in Gaul before Cæsar carried his victorious arms through every part of the country.

(g) During Cæsar's wars in Gaul, the Ubians, then settled on the German side of the Rhine, sent their ambassadors to the Roman general, and, having delivered hostages, and formed an alliance, implored his protection against the Suevians, by whom they were dreadfully oppressed. It was in consequence of these remonstrances that Cæsar resolved to build his bridge over the Rhine. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. f. 16. From that time the Ubians were obnoxious to the German nation. Their alliance
with

with the Romans, and their having called in a foreign aid, inflamed the indignation of their enemies. Pressed and persecuted by the Cattians, they applied to the Romans for a safe retreat on the Gallic side of the Rhine. Their request was granted, and lands were assigned to them in the country now called the Electorate of Cologne. The exact time of this migration cannot now be fixed with certainty. Agrippa commanded in Gaul in the years of Rome 716 and 735; and it was, most probably, in one of those expeditions that he received the Ubians under the protection of Rome. The Ubians in their new settlement built a city on the banks of the Rhine. It was the birth-place of Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and the mother of Nero. Being married afterwards to the emperor Claudius, she established a colony of veterans in the city of the Ubians, which was from that time called *the Agrippinian colony*; and thence the modern name of *Cologne*. The people were pleased with a title, which at once did honour to their protectress, and recalled the name of the first founder. See *Annals*, b. xii. f. 27.

Section XXIX.

(a) The Batavians are often celebrated by Tacitus for their bravery, their skill in swimming across rivers, and their faithful attachment to the interest of Rome. In the second book of the *Annals*, f. 10, we find them fighting under Germanicus. In the fourth book of the *History*, they are said to be originally of the Cattian nation. Driven out by their countrymen, they occupied a marshy island, formed by the German Ocean and two branches of the Rhine. They adhered with unshaken constancy to the Romans. They served in Britain as auxiliaries, and in Italy under Vitellius. Inflamed at length by the turbulent spirit of CIVILIS, they threw off the yoke, and, having

formed the Roman encampments, obliged the legions to lay down their arms, and even to swear fidelity to the empire of the Gauls. See the account of this war in the fourth and fifth books of the *History*. The Batavian island is said in the *Annals*, b. ii. f. 6, to be formed by two branches of the Rhine; one running in a direct course, and with a rapid current, till it empties itself in the German Ocean; the other, more gentle, falling into the Vahal (now the Waal), and thence through the broad mouth of the Mosa (the Meuse) into the Ocean. It is certain, however, that there was another outlet, since Tacitus mentions the canal made by Drusus, the father of Germanicus, through which the Rhine had a communication with several prodigious lakes that discharged themselves into the Ocean. Germanicus sailed through the canal of Drusus to the open sea. See *Annals*, b. ii. f. 8. Grotius, the scholar, and, it may be added, the rival of Tacitus, in his *History of the Wars with Spain*, which, in imitation of his master, he called *Annals*, has given an account of the country, that may with propriety be inserted in this place. The isle of Batavia was famous in ancient times. Lying between Gaul and Germany, it afforded convenient opportunities for carrying on the operations of war. The inhabitants were originally a people of the Cattians. Having formed an alliance with the Romans, they furnished levies, and were subject to no other burthen; distinguished by their skill in horsemanship, their dexterity in swimming, and their bravery no less than their fidelity. When Civilis, in the beginning of Vespasian's reign, excited them to a revolt, and roused the people of Gaul to assert their liberty, they carried on the war with undaunted valour. *Antiquis temporibus nobilissima fuit Batavorum insula. Germanis Gallisque media, positu ad ducendum transmittendumque bellum opportunissimo. Nomen habitatoribus et origo a Cattis.*

Cattis. Romanâ societate, extra dilectus, cætera sui juris egere; equitandi, nandi peritia, fide, virtute auxiliarium honoratissimi. Nec minus clari eo bello, quo, sub initia Vespasiani, Civili duce, Gallias ad libertatem excitarunt. Grotius goes on to give a description of the isle of Batavia. The Rhine, he says, branching off into the Vahal, and flowing also in another channel, where it still retained its own name, embraced the island of Batavia, and through two different mouths discharged itself into the ocean. That which lay to the right, and opened to the sea near Leyden, being narrow and scanty, was in time lost in the Leck and a waste of sand. The other branch of the river, which ran into the Vahal, flowed into the Meuse, and through that opening emptied itself into the German Ocean. At present, before it reaches the mouth of the Meuse, it washes a number of islands, and, being frequently swelled by inundations from the sea, it spreads a surface more like a sea than the current of a river. The third channel, through which the Rhine flows on the right hand further towards the north, was the military work of Drusus. The river falling through that artificial canal into the Issel, and thence into the lakes, which divide the two nations of the Frisians, contracted its current near the isle of Flevus, and took the name of that place during the rest of its course into the ocean. But the face of this whole country has been so changed by inundations, that now the whole body of water looks more like an irruption of the sea, than the bed of a river. *Eam insulam Rhenus in Vahalim et sui nominis alveum distinctus, et duobus maxime capitibus in oceanum influens, amplectitur. Dextrum Lugduno non procul exhibat, olim etiam tenue, post vi tempestatis sabulo obstructum, aquas in Leccam vertit. Sinistro Mosæ mixtus Vahalim ostio tenuis ripis continebatur. Hodie, antequam eo perveniat, varias insulas interfusus, ob crebra diluvia in maris speciem*

speciem transiit. Tertium Rheno osium, quod a dextro longius in Septentriones abit, Drusus aperuit. Nam in Isalam flumen perductus annis opere militari, inde se immergens in lacus, quibus Frisiorum nationes distinebantur, arctatusque apud Flevum insulam, hoc eodem accepto nomine in oceanum effluebat. Cæterum et hæc facies locorum ita mutata est, ut non emitti fluvius, sed contra, mare terras irrupisse, et, angusto primum ingressu, laxare mox se in spatium ingentis sinus videbatur. The bay or gulf mentioned by Grotius, is called a lake by Tacitus, and now bears the name of *Zuiderzee*. Heylin, in his *Cosmography*, gives to the Rhine four openings into the sea. The first is called the Wael, which, running through Gelderland by Nimmegen, loses itself in the Mæes; the second, which keeps the name of the Rhine, passes by Arnhem, and thence in a contracted channel to Utrecht, and so through Holland and Leyden. The third, called the Leck, takes its course through the provinces of Utrecht and Holland, and so into the sea betwixt Dort and Rotterdam. And the fourth, called the Yffell, which passing by the towns of Zulphen and Deventer, betwixt Gelderland and Over-Yffell, empties itself into the ocean near Amsterdam. Heylin, p. 310. From these accounts it is evident, that the Vahal, or Wael, flowed on the western side of Batavia; but which of the other two, according to Tacitus and Grotius, or the three, according to Heylin, washed the right hand side of the island, remains uncertain. The commentators are agreed, that the name of the island, which was probably latinised by the Romans, implied a flat marshy country; and, to confirm their opinion, they observe that there is at this day, between the Rhine and the Leck, a low swampy district called BETUVE.

(b) The Mattiaci inhabited lands between the Rhine and the

the Visurgis (the WESER). Their country was partly in Wetteravie, and partly in Hesse. Brotier says, Mattium, their capital, is now called Marpurg, and that the fountains (FONTES MATTIACI) are known by the name of Wis-baden, near Mentz.

(c) The country where the decumate lands were situated is now called Suabia. During Cæsar's wars in Gaul, the Marcomanni were in possession. In the time of Augustus, Maroboduus, their king, a brave, politic, and ambitious prince, saw that the Rhine was not a sufficient barrier between him and the Roman arms. He resolved to seek a new habitation in a more remote part of the country. Migrations in Germany were attended with little difficulty. They had neither fortified towns, nor houses strongly built; and all their wealth consisted in herds of cattle. Maroboduus, at the head of the Marcomanni, marched into Bohemia, and expelled the Boians. Suabia being thus evacuated, the neighbouring Gauls were invited by the fertility of the soil. A band of adventurers, supposed to be the Sequani, the Rauraci, and Helvetii, took possession of the vacant lands; and, being subjects of the empire, they continued to own their former masters, and, as was necessary in their new situation, to crave the protection of Rome. The Romans, in return, demanded a tenth of the product of the lands. Hence they were called *decumates*. Cicero says, the whole soil of Sicily is decuman. *Omnis ager Siciliæ decumanus est*. The tithe of their products was the tribute usually paid by the provinces that made a voluntary submission to the Romans. Suabia was converted by the new settlers into a Roman province, and, as Tacitus expressly says, was defended from the incursions of the Germans by a chain of posts. Tacitus wrote his Treatise in the second consulship of Trajan. That emperor repaired all the forts erected

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by

The word has been adopted by the French, who call Germany by the name of ALMAGNE, and the Germans, les ALESMANS. See *Alsatia Illustrata*, tom. i. p. 174 and 241.

Section XXX.

(a) The territory of the Mattiaci is said by the commentators to have been between the Rhine, the Mayne, the river Sala, and part of the Hercynian Forest near the Weser; now the countries of Hesse, Thuringia, part of Paderborn, and Franconia. Brotier says, that what Cæsar, Florus, and Ptolemy have remarked of the Suevi, should always be understood of the Catti. Leibnitz supposes that the people were called CATTI, from some resemblance in point of agility to a cat, the German word for that animal being CATTE.

(b) Brotier quotes a passage from Vegetius, in which that author gives a lively description of the form and structure of body proper for a soldier. Let the youth intended for a martial life have a quick piercing eye, a neck firm and erect, an open chest, broad and muscular shoulders, strong fingers, a length of arm, the belly not too prominent, legs well shaped, without superfluous flesh either on the calf or the foot, well braced with hard and close compacted sinews. Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 6.

(c) This was an improvement in military discipline beyond the rest of the Germans. In the Roman armies the general was the main strength; and accordingly Livy says, it was evident that the republic succeeded more by her general officers than by the armies of the commonwealth. *Ut facile appareret ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse.* Livy, lib. ii. Florus expresses a similar thought with his usual brevity: *Tanti*

by Drusus, and the several commanders in Germany. Hadrian raised a rampart, which extended from Neustadt, on the banks of the Danube, over a large tract of country as far as the Neckar, near Wimpfen; a space of sixty French leagues. This rampart, La Bletterie says, subsisted in the time of Aurelian, but could then no longer withstand the irruption of the German nations. Those fierce invaders bore down all opposition, till the emperor Probus checked their progress, and, in the place of the former rampart, which was raised with wood and turf, built a stone wall to repress the enemy. The design was grand, but it proved ineffectual. About the beginning of the third century of the Christian æra, the Germans began to see, that, while they fought in detached parties, the general interest was in danger. The spirit of liberty was roused, and a combination was formed to act with the united vigour of all Germany. Towards the Lower Rhine a league was formed under the name of the FRANKS; a word that signified FREEMEN. Towards the southern parts of the Rhine, the people bordering on the decumate lands, and the stone wall of Probus, established another confederation, under the name of ALLMANNI, importing that it was the league of a brave people, ALL MEN; *omnes viri*. In the following verses of Claudian we find that poet no stranger to the name of the *Franks* and the *Alamanni*.

———— Pavidoque orantes murmure FRANCI

Procubuère solo. Juratur Honorius absens,

Imploratque tuum supplex ALAMANNIA nomen.

DE IV. CONSULAT. HONORII, v. 447.

In the time of Dioclesian and Maximin, the wall built by Probus was overturned by the German invaders, who possessed themselves of the decumate country, and called it ALAMANNIA.

The

Warnefrid's *History of the Lombards*, b. iii. ch. 7. This practice of encouraging the growth of the hair was known to Silius Italicus; and accordingly that poet mentions, among the slain in one of his battles, a Gaul, who had bound himself by a similar vow, never to be shorn till he returned victorious from the field of battle.

Occumbit Sarmens, flavam qui ponere victor
Cæsariem, crinemque tibi, Gradive, vovebat
Auro certantem, et rutilum sub vertice nodum.

BELL. PUNIC. lib. iv. v. 200.

A modern instance of this custom occurs in Strada's *History of the Wars between Spain and the United Provinces*. After relating at some length the charge against Egmont and Horn, with their sentence and execution, the historian adds, that William Lume, one of the counts of Marc, bound himself by a barbarian vow (as Civilis the Batavian chief had formerly done in his war with the Romans) not to divest himself of his hair, till he obtained revenge for the deaths of the two slaughtered heroes. Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, lib. vii. p. 338. Grotius relates the same event with the brevity of his master Tacitus. Egmont and Horn, he says, two men no less distinguished by their martial exploits than by their illustrious birth, were brought forth at Brussels as soon as mass was ended, and, by order of the duke of Alva, executed on a public scaffold. Their heads, affixed to two high poles, exhibited a public spectacle, which the Dutch beheld with horror. A band of soldiers under arms overawed the common people, and controlled their looks, their tears, and their complaints; but compassion sunk the deeper, and revenge took possession of every brave and warlike mind. An incredible multitude gathered round the tombs of the two

O o 2

victims,

exercitus, quanti imperator. Lib. ii. cap. 18. The value of an army is in proportion to the skill of the general. Quintilian agrees with the two historians: he says, If we make a fair estimate, it is by military discipline that the Roman name has flourished to this day with undiminished lustre. We do not abound in numbers more than other nations; nor are our bodies more robust than the Cimbrians. We are not richer than many powerful monarchies; our contempt of death does not exceed that of the barbarians, who have no allurements to make them fond of life. What gives us the advantage over other nations, is the military system established by the institutions of our ancestors; our attention to discipline; our love of labour, and our constant preparation for war, assiduously kept alive by unremitting exercise. We conquered more by our manners, than by force of arms. Quintilian, *Pro Milite*, Declam. iii. f. 14.

Section XXXI.

(a) Vows of this kind occur in the history of various nations. In the days of chivalry the same custom prevailed, and manifestly owed its origin to the practice of the Germans, who over-ran all Europe. He who undertook a bold enterprise, or thirsted for revenge, made a vow never to sleep in a bed, nor take off his clothes day or night, till he had executed his grand design. Upon this principle Civilis, the Batavian chief, curtailed his hair and beard as soon as he had performed his promise. See Tacitus, *History*, b. iv. f. 61. Lipsius, in his note on that passage, mentions from the History of the Langobards six thousand Saxons, who survived the slaughter of their countrymen, and bound themselves, by a solemn vow, neither to shave their beards nor cut their hair, till they had revenged themselves on the Suevian nation. Brotier relates the same fact from

Warnefrid's

of Cleves, and part of the bishoprick of Munster. Martial makes mention of this people :

Sic leve flavorum valeat genus Ufipiorum.

Lib. vi. epig. 60.

Cæsar calls them *Usipetes*; and they, he says, with the Tenctheri, were driven by the Suevians from their territories; and, having wandered over many regions of Germany during a space of three years, they settled at last on the banks of the Rhine, near the Menapians, who had lands on both sides of the river. Cæsar, b. iv. f. 1. Afterwards, in the reign of Augustus, when the Sicambri were transplanted to the west side of the Rhine by Tiberius, who commanded the legions in those parts, the Ufipians and Tencterians succeeded to the lands left vacant in Germany; supposed now to be the duchy of Berg, and Mark, Lipp, Waldeck, and the bishoprick of Paderbourn. In the *History of Tacitus*, b. iv. f. 64, we see them acting in conjunction with Civilis against the Romans.

Section XXXIII.

(a) The Bructerians dwelt between the Rhine, the Luppia (the Lippe), and Amisia (the Ems). The country is now supposed to be Westphalia, and Over-Iffel. They entered into an alliance with Civilis, the Batavian chief; and, having in the course of that war incurred the hatred of their countrymen, they were at length exterminated. It is observable, however, that Tacitus does not state the ruin of this people as a positive fact. He mentions it as a report. That they were still a people appears in a letter of Pliny, who wrote in the time of Trajan. The emperor, he tells us, decreed a triumphal statue to Vestritius Spurinna, who, without the necessity of coming to an engagement,

victims, printing kisses on the place, and washing it with their tears. Numbers vowed to let their hair grow into length, and, according to the ancient custom, never to shorten it till they revenged that noble blood. *Hi duo viri, omnium confessione eminentissimi, nec minus factis quam stirpe illustres, Bruxellæ, post sacra Romano ritu peracta, loco publico cervices carnifici præbuere. Capita aliquamdiu suffixa palis, Belgarum in oculis atrox spectaculum; et quamquam circumfusa arma vocibus ac prope vultibus imminebant, altius animis omnium miseratio, fortiorum etiam ultio insedit; cum incredibilis turbæ osculis et fletu sepulchra celebrarentur, alii vero et comas promitterent, priscum in morem obligatoris habitu, quem non mutarent, nisi vindicato tam nobili sanguine.* Grotius, *Annal.* b. ii. p. 40.

(b) This custom of voluntarily putting on a badge of slavery was observed by the descendants of the Germans in various parts of Europe, and in the times of chivalry seems to have grown into general use. It was then a mark of amorous gallantry. In the year 1414, John, duke of Bourbon, to distinguish himself in the service of his mistress, associated himself with sixteen knights and 'squires, who all joined him in a vow, by which they obliged themselves to wear a ring round their left legs on every Sunday for two years; that of the knights to be gold, and that of the gentlemen silver. And this they were to perform till it should be their lot to meet with an equal number of knights and 'squires to engage with them in the tournament. Vertot, *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 595.

Section XXXII.

(a) The Usipii are supposed to have occupied the duchy
of

ment, humbled the Bruċterians by the terror of his name. The barbarians had experienced his courage and his conduct, and therefore not only received their king from him, but quietly submitted to their former government. Pliny, lib. ii. epist. 7. It is probable, therefore, that Tacitus was misinformed. Claudian, the celebrated poet, who flourished in the fourth century of the Christian æra, in the time of the emperor Theodosius, mentions the Bruċterians as a people who, with the rest of the German nations, submitted to the Roman general.

————— venit accola Sylvæ
Bruċterus Hercyniæ.

DE IV. CONSUL. HONORII, v. 450.

It is still to be observed, that neither this passage in Claudian, nor that in Pliny's letter, has fixed the place where the Bruċterians resided. If, according to the poet, they were contiguous to the Hercynian Forest, it confirms what Tacitus says, that they were driven from their territory. Wherever they dwelt, there is reason to conclude that they were still a people. The report to the contrary seems to have had no foundation. Eccard (*De Rebus Franciæ Orientalis*, vol. i. p. 304.) says, they settled between Cologne and Hesse, and were afterwards engaged in the league of the Franks.

(b) The Chamavians occupied a territory near the banks of the Amisia (the Ems), supposed to be Lingen and Osnabrug. The Angrivarians bordered on the Visurgis (the Weser), where at present are Minden and Schawenburg. They were also called Angrarii; a word which, Gronovius observes, according to the German etymology, signifies AGGRESSORS. Brotier says, they were afterwards a part of the Saxon nation; and, for
proof

proof of this, he refers to the code of Saxon laws. The same writer adds, that the battle which, in conjunction with the Angrivarians, they fought against the Bructerians, was decided on a plain near the canal of Drusus (see f. xxix. note *a*), and the account of that prodigious slaughter arrived at Rome in the first year of the emperor Trajan. Tacitus on this occasion seems to exult in the destruction of the human species. *Above sixty thousand of the Germans, he says, lay dead on the field of battle; a glorious spectacle for the legions, who beheld that scene of blood.* The ambition of the Romans aiming always at universal dominion, it was part of their policy to give the name of barbarians to the nations that did not tamely submit to their victorious arms. The combats of their gladiators enured them to blood and carnage from their very infancy; and, by consequence, they considered the race of man as so many victims, who were to bleed for the ambition of a people who aspired to be the governors of the world. To conquer the proud (*debellare superbos*) was a state maxim, and moral virtue gave way to fierce ambition. There is a passage in Livy not unlike what is said by Tacitus, but not delivered with the same harshness of expression. A contention, he says, arose between the Volsci and the Æqui; each claiming a right to name a commander in chief for their confederate army. A violent sedition followed, and the consequence was a bloody engagement, in which the good fortune of the Roman people destroyed two armies of the enemy. *Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Æquine imperatorem conjuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox prælium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hostium exercitus, haud minus perniciosam quam pertinaci certamine, confecit.* Livy, lib. ii. f. 40.

Section XXXIV.

(a) It is difficult to fix the residence of these two nations. The commentators seem disposed to assign them the country near the head of the river Lippe; and thence it is thought that they removed to the lands evacuated by the Angrivarians and Chamavians, when they expelled the Bructerian nation. They seem to have been the same with those whom Velleius Paterculus calls the Attuarii: see Paterc. lib. ii. f. 105. They were afterwards part of the Francic league. The nations of inferior note, said by Tacitus to have dwelt in their neighbourhood, are supposed by Brotier to have been the Ansibarii and Tubantes. The former he thinks should rather be called Amfibarii, from their vicinity to the river Amisia.

(b) The Flevus, in the time of the Romans, was a great lake. Germanicus *entered it through the artificial branch of the Rhine made by Drusus. Annals*, b. ii. f. 8. It has been since enlarged by irruptions of the sea, and is now the great gulf called Zuyder-Zee. The Lesser Frisians were settled on the south-west side of the bay, occupying the whole or part of Holland and Utrecht. The Greater Frisians were on the north-east of the lake or gulf, in the territory now called Groningen, extending themselves along the sea-coast as far as the river Amisia (now the EMS). The name of the Frisians seems to be preserved in that of FRIESLAND, the most northern of the United Provinces.

(c) One of the inundations which changed the lake into a gulf of the sea, happened so late as the year 1530, and swallowed up seventy-two villages. Another happened in the year 1569, and overwhelmed the coast of Holland, and laid all

Frieſland under water. In that flood no leſs than 20,000 perſons loſt their lives. Where the pillars of Hercules ſtood cannot now be known with certainty. The extreme point of land, where nothing but the open ſea lay beyond it, was in ancient times ſaid to be the ſpot on which the pillars of Hercules were erected. Some of the commentators contend, that the ſpot intended by Tacitus was on the coaſt of the Friſians; others will have it to be the point of the CIMBRIAN CHERSONESUS, now Jutland.

(d) Drufus was the younger brother of Tiberius, and father of Germanicus. See the *Genealogical Table of the Cæſars*, vol. ii. No. 79. Hiſtory aſcribes to him the moſt amiable character, and every Roman virtue. Though educated at the court of Auguſtus, he was in ſentiment a republican. He commanded in Germany, and carried his victorious arms as far as the Elbe. He impoſed a tribute on the Friſians (ſee *Annals*, b. iv. ſ. 72), and, in order to explore the German Ocean, ſailed as far as the point of Jutland: but, the art of navigation being then little underſtood, he did not venture to proceed farther in that violent and tempeſtuous ſea.

(e) Tacitus, perhaps, alluded to the precept of the philoſopher, who ſaid, *Worſhip God, believe in him, but do not preſume to inveſtigate his nature*: DEUM COLE, ATQUE CREDE, SED NOLI QUÆRERE. The ancients, ſays La Bletterie, thought it preſumptuous to enquire too far into the myſteries of nature; and the moderns do not ſpare the myſteries of religion.

Section XXXV.

(a) The territory of the Chaucians extended from the Ems
VOL. IV. P p (Amſia)

(Amisia) to the Elbe (Albis), and the German Ocean washed the northern extremity. The nation was distinguished into the Greater and the Lesser, divided from each other by the Visurgis (the Weser). The former dwelt (as appears in *Annals*, b. ii. f. 18 and 19) between the Ems and the Weser; the latter on the north-east side of the Weser, between that river and the Elbe. Pliny, in his *Natural History*, has represented the maritime inhabitants in lively colours. He says, he himself had seen the Greater and the Lesser Chaucians, living in a vast level country, which is overflowed twice in the day and night by the reflux of the tide, and leaves a perpetual doubt whether it is sea or land. Pliny adds, that the wretched inhabitants live on the ridge of hills, or in mud cottages, raised above the high-water mark, having no cattle, no milk, and no fruits of the earth. Fish is their only sustenance, and they catch it with lines made of flags and sea-weed. Their fuel is the common mud, taken up with their hands, and dried rather by the wind than the sun. With fire made of this kind of peat, they warm their food and their bodies almost frozen. The rain-water, collected in ditches round their huts, is their only drink. *Sunt vero in Septemtrione visæ nobis gentes Chaucorum, qui Majores Minoresque appellantur. Vasto ibi meatu, bis dierum noctiumque singularum intervallis, effusus in immensum agitur oceanus, æternam operiens rerum naturæ controversiam, dubiumque terra sit, an pars maris. Illic misera gens tumulos obtinet altos, aut tribunalia structa manibus ad experimenta altissimi æstus casis ita impositis. Non pecudem bis habere, non lacte ali, ne cum feris quidem dimicare contigit, omni procul abacta frutice. Ulvâ et palustri junco funes nectunt ad prætexenda piscibus retia; captumque manibus lutum ventis magis quam sole siccantes: hac terrâ cibos et rigentia Septemtrione viscera sua urunt. Potus non nisi ex imbre servato scrobibus in vestibulo domus.* Pliny, lib.

lib. xvi. f. 1. Pliny concludes his account of the Chaucians with an observation natural in the mouth of a man, who, with the rest of his country, thought that Rome, as mistress of the world, had a right to give laws to the nations round her, and that subjection was the duty of barbarians. If, he says, that wretched people were conquered by the Romans, they would call it slavery, and complain of the yoke of bondage. The fact is, Fortune spares some nations, but her mercy is the severest punishment. She leaves them to their misery. *Et hæ gentes, si vincantur hodie a populo Romano, servire se dicunt. Ita est profectò: multis Fortuna parcit in pœnam.* Pliny, it should seem, thought luxury a sufficient compensation for the loss of liberty: he did not reflect, that to live under the arbitrary will of man is the worst lot of human life, and that independence can make *barren rocks and bleak mountains smile*. Lucan differed widely from Pliny: Liberty, he says, fled from the guilt of civil war beyond the Tigris and the Rhine, never to return, though often fought by the Romans at the risk of life. In his emphatic manner he calls liberty *a German and a Scythian blessing*.

— Fugiens civile nefas, redituraque nunquam
 Libertas ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit,
 Ac, toties nobis jugulo quæsitæ, negatur,
 GERMANUM SCYTHICUMQUE BONUM!

LUCAN, lib. vii. v. 432.

(b) The Chaucians, with their love of justice and moderation, still retained their warlike spirit. To prevent their incursions, the Romans found it convenient to station garrisons at proper posts. Lucan alludes to those garrisons; but he gives the people a new name, that of *CAYCI*.

Et vos crinigeros bellis arcere Caycos

Oppositi.

Lib. i. v. 463.

You too tow'rds Rome advance, ye warlike band,
That wont the shaggy Cauci to withstand.

Rowe's LUCAN, b. i. l. 811.

Section XXXVI.

(a) The territory of the Cheruscans began near the Weser (Visurgis), and extended to the Elbe, through the countries now called Lunebourg, Brunswick, and part of Brandenburg. Arminius, their chief, made head against the Romans with distinguished bravery, and performed a number of gallant exploits, as related by Tacitus in the first and second book of the *Annals*. He was at last cut off by the treachery of his countrymen, and his character is given in lively colours in the last section of the second book. Varus and his legions were destroyed by the zeal and violent spirit of Arminius, as appears in the speech of Segestes, *Annals*, b. i. l. 58. The long peace, in which the vigour of this people sunk into sloth and indolence, was, perhaps, occasioned by the death of Arminius; or it might be from the time when Germanicus was recalled by Tiberius, and sent to command the legions in the east. In the time of Augustus, they occupied a large tract of country on the west side of the Weser, as appears in the accounts given by Velleius Paterculus of Drusus, and his wars in Germany.

(b) This is the only place in which Tacitus makes mention of the Fosi. Cluverius and others suppose that they were the same as the ancient Saxons. But this opinion does not seem to be well supported. According to Ptolemy, the Saxons inhabited the country of Holstein at the entrance of the Cimbrian

Chersonesus,

Cherfonefus, or Jutland. The name of the Saxons could not be mentioned by Tacitus; it was not known till long after his time, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, when, in conjunction with the ANGLES, they issued from their hive, and afterwards became masters of Britain. The Fosi were a different people. They bordered on the Cheruscans near the Elbe; and, since we find them involved in one common calamity, they were, perhaps, subordinate to that nation.

Section XXXVII.

(a) The Cimbri inhabited the peninsula, which, after their name, was called the Cimbric Cherfonefus, and is now Jutland, including Sleswic and Holstein. In the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo, A. U. C. 640, about one hundred and eleven years before the Christian æra, this people, in conjunction with the Teutones, made an irruption into Gaul, and having spread terror and devastation through the country, resolved to push their conquest into Italy. They sent a deputation to the senate, demanding an allotment of lands, and in return promising fidelity. It appears in the Epitome of Livy, lxxv. that, the senate having refused to enter into any compromise with such bold invaders, the new consul, Marcus Silanus, marched against them. The Cimbri stormed his entrenchments, pillaged the camp, and put almost the whole army to the sword. This victory was followed by the defeat of three more Roman generals, who lost their camp, and had their armies cut to pieces. Florus does not hesitate to say, that Rome was on the brink of destruction, had there not existed in that age a Marius, to redeem the Roman name. That officer had triumphed over Jugurtha, and his military skill was equal to his valour. He gave battle to the Teutones at the foot of the Alps, near the
place

place then called *Aquæ Sextiæ* (now Aix in Provence), and gained a complete victory. Livy says (*Epitome*, lxviii.), that no less than two hundred thousand of the enemy were slain in the action. The whole nation perished. Florus adds, that their king *THEUTOBOCHUS* was taken prisoner; and, in the triumph of Marius, his immense stature, towering above the heaps of warlike trophies, exhibited to the Roman people an astonishing spectacle. The Cimbri, in the mean time, passed over the Alps, and made a descent into Italy. They penetrated as far as the banks of the Adige, and, having crossed that river, in spite of Catulus Luctatius, the Roman general, spread a general panic through the country. They halted near the Po, and sent to Marius a second time to demand a place for their habitation. Marius answered, that “their brethren, the Teutones, “already possessed more than they desired, and that they would “not easily quit what had been assigned to them.” Enraged by this taunting raillery, the Cimbri prepared for a decisive action. Florus says, that their vigour was relaxed by the soft climate of Italy. The battle was fought, according to Florus, at a place called *Raudium*, on the east side of the river *Lessites*, which runs from the *Alpes Graiæ*, and falls into the Po. Victory declared for the Romans. If we may believe Livy, Florus, and Plutarch in the life of Marius, above one hundred and forty thousand of the Cimbri perished in the engagement. Mention has already been made (*s. viii. note a*) of the behaviour of the Cimbrian women, when they saw the victory in the hands of the Romans. They dashed out the brains of their children, and completed the tragedy by destroying themselves. In this manner ended the expedition of the Cimbri. The reader, who desires to see the history of that transaction more in detail, will find it related with accuracy and elegance in

Monf.

Monf. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 22. The number of the Cimbri, and their confederates, the Teutones, faid to have been destroyed by Marius in his two engagements, would feem incredible, were it not in fome degree explained by Florus, who fays, that the whole nation was driven by inundations of the fea to feek new habitations in every quarter of the globe. *Cum terras eorum inundaffet oceanus, novas fedes toto orbe quærebant.* Florus, lib. iii. cap. 3. Plutarch, in the life of Marius, fays, that the number of fighting men was 300,000, befides as great a number of women and children. Their native country, after this grand emigration, continued fo depopulated, that, at the end of two centuries, when Tacitus wrote this tract, it had not been able to recover itfelf. It was long after that the Angles and Saxons iffued from their northern hive, as Sir William Temple calls it, to eftablifh their Anglo-Saxon government in this ifland.

(*b*) Oriental defpotifm was not able to fhake the folid ftrength of the Roman republic. Parthia was divided by a long tract of country, and by the Mediterranean Sea. The brilliant fplendour of the Arfacidæ might glitter in the eyes of courtiers, whofe ambition aimed at honours and marks of diftinction, and the people were dazzled by the glory of their monarch. But glory, though it is the principle that unites the fubjects in fupport of defpotifm, is weak and powerlefs, when oppofed to the virtue of a republic, or the love of freedom that pervades a fierce and favage nation. The latter is a paffion implanted by the hand of nature; the motives of flaves are all artificial. The Germans took up arms in defence of liberty; the Parthians fought for the fplendour of the imperial diadem, and, by confequence, rivetted their own chains. It is true that Craffus and
his

his whole army were cut to pieces ; but the Parthians delivered hostages to the Romans, and their princes received their sceptre from the hands of the emperor. The Germans made a fiercer resistance. The Cimbrians and the Teutones filled all Italy with terror. From that time, during a space of more than two centuries to the reign of Trajan, Rome and Germany were often at war, with alternate victory, and alternate slaughter. Arminius roused his countrymen against the Romans, and he is called by Tacitus the DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY. Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, declared to his people, that Syria, Asia, and the oriental nations, inured to the yoke of despotism, might continue to crouch in bondage ; but as to himself and the Gauls, they were born in freedom. By the death of Varus slavery was driven out of Germany. Those were the sentiments that inflamed the martial spirit of that adventurer. With what heroic ardour he prosecuted the war, Tacitus has related in the fourth book of his History. The historian, most probably, foresaw that German liberty would in the end accomplish the ruin of the empire ; and that foreknowledge, perhaps, extorted from him the fervent prayer which he offers up (f. xxxiii.) for the continuance of civil discord among the enemies of Rome. The triumph of the Germans happened long after the time of Tacitus. In the year of Rome 1229, and of the Christian æra 476, Odoacer overturned the western empire, and left the last of the emperors to languish in a castle near Naples. Before the end of the eighth century Charlemagne, king of the Franks, caused one of his sons to be crowned king of Italy by Pope Adrian, and, by the rapid progress of his arms, proved what Tacitus has said, that German liberty is more vigorous than eastern despotism. See Charlemagne's Preface to the Salic Law, a monument of
of

of antiquity which, Brotier says, is seldom inspected even by the curious. For that reason he has given it at length in his notes on this section of Tacitus.

(c) The slaughter of Crassus and his army is well known: but in revenge Pacorus, son of Orodes, the Parthian king, was put to death, and the kingdom was reduced to a lower condition than even that of Ventidius, who gained a complete victory. Tacitus says, *infra Ventidium dejectus oriens*, alluding to the meanness of that officer's first employment: he let out mules for hire, and was afterwards raised to the consulship by Antony the triumvir. Upon that occasion a libel was fixed up in the public places at Rome, stating, as a kind of prodigy, that the man who dressed mules was made a consul.

Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens;
Nam mulos qui fricabat, consul factus est.

The victory obtained by this man (see Florus, lib. iv. f. 9) places the weakness of the Parthians in a clear point of view. But the loss of so many Roman consuls, with their armies, shews the warlike genius of the Germans. Carbo was consul A. U. C. 640, and was routed by the Cimbrians with his whole army. Livy, Epitome lxiii. Lucius Cassius was consul A. U. 647. He himself was slain in battle, and his whole army passed under the yoke. Cæsar, b. i. f. 12. See Livy, Epitome lxv.

(d) Marcus Scaurus Aurelius gave battle to the Cimbrians, and his army was put to flight. He himself was taken prisoner. Being summoned to a consultation held by the enemy, he advised them not to think of passing the Alps, because the Romans were invincible. For that offence Boiorix, a young man of

great ferocity, killed him on the spot. Livy, Epit. lxvii. Servilius Cæpio, proconsul, and Cneius Manlius, consul, were both defeated, and their camps were pillaged by the Cimbrians. Livy, Epit. lxvii. Florus, lib. iii. f. 3. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. f. 12. This last defeat happened A. U. 649, and, according to Plutarch, in the life of Lucullus, the anniversary was reckoned among the unlucky days. In order to do justice to the martial ardour of the Germans, Tacitus takes care to observe that these disasters happened in the best days of Rome, that is, in the time of the republic. *Quinque simul consulares exercitus POPULO ROMANO abstulerunt.* He adds, that Augustus the emperor lost Varus and his three legions. The calamity made such an impression on the mind of Augustus, that, as Suetonius relates, he let his hair and beard grow for several months, at times striking his head against the wall, and exclaiming, "QUINTILIUS VARUS, GIVE ME BACK MY LEGIONS." Sueton. *in Augusto*, f. 23. See the fine description of Germanicus and his army traversing the field where the bones of their slaughtered countrymen lay unburied. *Annals*, b. i. f. 61.

(e) Marius, as has been mentioned, triumphed over the Teutones and the Cimbri. See f. xxxvii. note (a).

(f) During the troubles that followed the death of Nero, and the wars between Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, Claudius Civilis, the Batavian chief, took the field at the head of a confederate army, under a plausible pretence of promoting the interest of Vespasian, but, in fact, to deliver his country and the Gauls from the Roman yoke. He called himself the friend of Vespasian, while he stormed the Roman camps, and obliged the legions to surrender to his victorious arms. He drew many of
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the German nations into a conspiracy ; and, acting on every occasion with consummate policy, he appears to have learned in the school of the Romans the art of contending with his masters. What he attempted was reserved for a later period, and for the abilities of William Nassau, who freed the United Provinces from the dominion of Spain. See the enterprising spirit and the gallant exploits of Civilis in the History of Tacitus, book iv. He was, at length, abandoned by the Germans, and, by consequence, reduced to the necessity of patching up a peace with Cerealis, the Roman general. An imperfect account of this transaction may be seen in what remains of the fifth book of the History, which has suffered by the injury of time.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) The territory occupied by the Suevians was of vast extent, stretching southward from the Baltic to the Danube, and eastward from the Elbe to the Vistula, which was the boundary that separated Germany from Sarmatia. Several nations inhabited that vast tract of country. They formed a confederation with the Suevians, and, being so connected, were called by one general appellation. Some distinct states were subject to the Suevians, and thence derived the name of Suevians. The new league that was afterwards established took the title of ALAMANNI (see this Tract, f. xxix. note (c)). The two names have been promiscuously used by historians to signify the Suevi or the Alamanni ; and hence the country, which, after the destruction of the wall erected by the emperor Probus, became the theatre of war, was alternately called Alamannia and Suabia.

(b) It should seem, from what is here said, that the rest of the Germans let their hair flow loosely about their head and

shoulders. Seneca mentions the ruddy hair of the Germans gathered into a knot; but he does not call it a general custom: he only says it was not deemed unmanly. *Nec rufus crinis et coactus in nodum apud Germanos virum dedecet.* Seneca, *De Ira*, lib. iii. cap. 26. Martial, in his first book (epigram iii.) on the public spectacles exhibited at Rome, talks of the Sicambri with their hair collected into a knot:

Crinibus in nodum tortis venêre Sicambri.

In a passage already cited from Silius Italicus (f. xxxi. note *a*) that poet mentions the ruddy hair tied up into a knot. *Et rutilum sub vertice nodum.*

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) The Semnones occupied both banks of the Viadrus (now the ODER), with part of Pomerania, Brandenburg, and also of Silesia. The late king of Prussia has thrown great light on the history of the Semnones. See his *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*.

(*b*) The belief of a Supreme God, the governor of the universe, has been from the earliest time common to all nations, however rude and barbarous. It is well known to have been the persuasion of the Scythians, from whom the Germans derived their origin; and it is also known that the Scythians offered human sacrifices. Accordingly we find the Semnones addicted to the same barbarous rites. The old treatise of Icelandic mythology, entitled the EDDA, shews that the Scandinavians believed in a Supreme Deity, "the author of every thing that exists; the eternal, the ancient, the living and awful Being;

“ Being; the searcher into concealed things, the Being that “ never changeth.” See Mallet’s *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 78. That the Americans believed in a God and a future state, appears in Charlevoix and other travellers. This concurring opinion of all mankind is observed by Cicero, who says, there never was a people so rude, so savage, and so sunk in ignorance, as not to be impressed with the idea of a supreme all-ruling mind. The conceptions of men are, indeed, gross and extravagant; but still all acknowledge a superior Being, and a divinity that stirs within them. *Nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam immanis, cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio. Multi de diis prava sentiunt: omnes tamen esse vim et naturam divinam arbitrantur. Tuscul. Quæstion. lib. i. f. 13.*

Section XL.

(a) The Langobards are supposed, in the time of Augustus, to have inhabited the country now called Lunenbourg and Magdebourg, on the west side of the Elbe. Velleius Paterculus says, they were subdued by Tiberius, when he commanded in Germany, and that they were a people that exceeded even German ferocity. *Fraçti Langobardi; gens etiam Germanâ ferocitate ferocior.* Vell. Pat. lib. ii. cap. 106. Suetonius (*Life of Augustus*, f. 21) says, they were driven beyond the Elbe. It is evident, however, that they afterwards recovered their strength, since we find the dominion of the Langobards flourishing in Italy, till in the year 784 they were totally subdued by Charlemagne. Their code of laws is preserved by Lindenbrogius. Tacitus has made no mention of the Burgundians, perhaps because they were in his time of little or no consideration; though at the end of several centuries they were able to make an irruption into Gaul, where they possessed the country which, after
8 them,

them, is to this day called the province of Burgundy. The Burgundian laws are still extant.

(b) With regard to the seven nations here enumerated, there are no lights of history to guide us at this distant period. Brotier supposes that the Reudignians dwelt in what is now called Mecklenbourg and Lawenbourg. The Aviones, he thinks, were situated in a portion of the duchy of Mecklenbourg, near a river which, after their name, is called Ava by the inhabitants. The Varinians are generally thought to have occupied the eastern part of Mecklenbourg, where the city of Waren stands at present. The Eudofians, the Nuithones and Suardonians are almost lost in the mists of antiquity. The Angles are better known. They occupied part of Holstein and Sleswick. In the fifth century they joined the Saxons in their expedition into Britain, and, by giving the name of England to the southern part of the island, immortalized the glory of their nation.

(c) As Tacitus is here speaking of the adoration paid to a goddess by the several nations whose names have been enumerated, it is not probable that, in latinizing a barbarous word, he should give it a masculine termination. The text says, *HERTHUM, id est, Terram Matrem colunt*. So, it seems, the word stands in all the manuscripts; and yet, it may be presumed, that the author wrote *HERTHAM*. The name in all the northern languages signifies earth; in the ancient Gothic, *airtha*; in the Anglo-Saxon *eortbe*, *ertha*, *bertha*; in English *earth*. See *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 92. The worship of Mother Earth has been common in all unenlightened nations. We read in a Latin historian, that a tremor of the earth being felt when two armies were in the heat of battle, Sempronius, the Roman general,

general, bound himself by a vow to build a temple to the goddess. *Tremante inter prælium campo, Tellurem deam promissæ æde placavit.* Florus, lib. i. cap. 19. The deity that presided over the air and the elements, was supposed to be the FATHER of all, and the earth the MOTHER. This is clearly expressed by Lucretius :

Postremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos PATER ÆTHER
In gremium MATRIS TERRÆ præcipitavit.

Lib. iv. 251.

The same author, in another place, describes those two parents producing corn and fruit, and the whole human race.

Omnibus ille idem PATER est, unde alma liquentes
Humorum guttas cum MATER TERRA recepit,
Fœta parit nitidas fruges, arbutaque læta,
Et genus humanum.

Lib. ii. 991.

This idea of a creative power was not confined to Greece and Rome. “It was the opinion of all the Celtic nations, and of the ancient Syrians, that the Supreme Being, or celestial God, had united with the earth to produce the inferior deities, man, and all other creatures. Upon this was founded that veneration they had for the earth, which they considered as a goddess. They called her MOTHER EARTH, and the HERTHA of the Germans was the same as *Frica*, or *Frea*, the wife of ODIN, mother of the gods: she was also known under the name of ASTAGOOD, or the goddess of Love; a name not very remote from the ASTARTE of the Phœnicians; and under that of GOYA, which the ancient Greeks gave to the earth. The FATHER of the gods and MOTHER EARTH were called by some of the Scythian nations JUPITER and APIA; by the Thracians, COTIS

and BENDIS ; by the inhabitants of Greece and Italy, SATURN and OPS. Antiquity is full of traces of this worship, which was formerly universal. The Scythians adored the earth as a goddess, wife of the supreme God ; the Turks celebrated her in their hymns, and the Persians offered sacrifices to her." *North-ern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 91 and 95. A festival in honour of MOTHER EARTH was instituted by the Scandinavians, and fixed at the first quarter of the second moon of the year. Mallet says, they sacrificed to the goddess the largest hog they could get. That the same worship was paid by the rude inhabitants of Italy, we have the authority of Horace in the Epistle to Augustus.

TELLUREM PORCO, Sylvanum lacte piabant.

(d) Cluverius pretends, that the island intended by Tacitus is the isle of RUGEN, which is in the Baltic sea, on the coast of Pomerania. He mentions a forest on the island, in the midst of which was a vast lake, always an object of superstition. La Bletterie observes, that Helmoldus, a writer of the twelfth century, calls the isle of RUGEN the centre of paganism, till the missionaries converted the natives, and built a church. But the Christian religion did not long prevail. The islanders, relapsing into their former errors, banished the priests, and changed the church into a temple for their pagan worship. And yet, as Tacitus places this island in the ocean, and as he afterwards mentions the Rugians (see f. xliii.), without ascribing to them the same religious rites, it is more likely to have been the isle of HEILIGELAND, which is not far from the mouth of the Elbe. The ANGLES (from whom our English ancestors derived their name) were seated on this coast; and Arnkiel hath shewn, in his
Cimbric

Cimbric Antiquities, that the ancient Germans held this island in great veneration. The word HEILIGELAND signifies "Holy Land." See Pelloutier, *Histoire des Celtes*, tom. ii. chap. 18. Other learned men pretend that the isle in question was Zealand; but it is, after all, not very certain or important. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 93.

Section XLI.

(a) We are now entering on what may be considered as the third part of this Treatise. In the first the author has given a striking picture of the general manners of the whole nation, considered as a people living under the influence of the same rough northern climate. From the beginning of section xxviii. he has traced the several states from the head of the Rhine, in the country of the GRISONS, along the western side of Germany to where it branches off, and forms the isle of Batavia. From that place Tacitus has traced the several nations to the Elbe, and along the coast of the Baltic to the Vistula, the eastern boundary of Germany. In this third division of the work he pursues the course of the Danube, as long as it divides Germany from the Vindelici, from Noricum, and Pannonia. He then follows the eastern side of the country, where a chain of mountains, or, as he expresses it, mutual fear draws the line of separation from Dacia and Sarmatia. In this geographical chart, the first nation that occurs is that of the Hermundurians, who occupied a country of prodigious extent, at first between the Elbe, the river Sala, and Boiemum (now Bohemia), which became the territory of the Marcomanni, when that people expelled the Boians, and fixed their habitation in the conquered country. In the time of Tacitus the Hermundurians possessed the southern part of Germany, and, being faithful to the Romans, were highly fa-

voured. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius they entered into a league with their countrymen, and met with a total defeat. The colony in the province of Rhætia (the county of the Grifons), where they enjoyed a free intercourse, was most probably AUGUSTA VINDELICORUM (now Aufbourg). Vindelica was a part of Rhætia. The liberty of passing and re-passing within the limits of the empire, without a guard to watch their motions, which was granted to the Hermundurians, was a great mark of confidence. The like indulgence was not extended to other nations, as may be seen in the complaint of the Germans to the Ubians, then inhabitants of the Agrippinian colony: The earth, they say, the light of heaven, rivers and cities are barred against us; and, to the disgrace of men born to the use of arms, we are obliged to approach the walls of your city defenceless, naked, in the custody of a guard, and even for this a price is exacted. *Ut, quod contumeliosius est viris ad arma natis, inermes, ac propè nudi, sub custode et pretio coiremus.* See *Hist.* b. iv. f. 64.

(b) Tacitus is supposed, in this place, to be guilty of a geographical mistake. The source of the Elbe is in Bohemia, among the mountains that separate that country from Silesia. Bohemia, as will be seen in the following section, was, after the expulsion of the Boians, inhabited by the Marcomanni. It should, however, be remembered that the Hermundurians served in the army of Maroboduus, in his expedition against the Boians, and, perhaps, were rewarded with an allotment of lands in that part of Bohemia where the Elbe takes its rise. If so, Tacitus has made no mistake. There is a river, called the EGRA, which rises in Suabia, and this, it is supposed by some of the commentators, Tacitus confounded with the source of the Elbe; a river
more

more known by the victories of Drusus and Tiberius, than by any discoveries made by the Romans since the days of those two commanders.

Section XLII.

(a) The Nariscans occupied the country between Bohemia and the Danube, which is now part of Bavaria.

(b) The Marcomannians, before they took possession of Boiemum, or Bohemia, are said to have inhabited the country near the Danube, now called the duchy of Wirtemberg in the north part of the circle of Suabia. They derived their name from the circumstance of their being settled on the borders of Germany, the word MARC signifying a frontier or boundary. The Quadians occupied Moravia and part of Austria; in the time of Tacitus, a brave and warlike people, but, in the reign of VALENTINIAN and VALENS, a nation of little consequence. See Ammianus Marcellinus, b. xxix. ch. 15.

(c) Maroboduus was king of the Marcomannians. For an account of him, and his alliance with the Romans against Arminius, see *Annals*, b. ii. f. 46: and see Velleius Paterculus, who says, that this prince, a barbarian by his birth, not by his talents, was able to subdue the neighbouring states, or by conventions to reduce them to subjection. *Maroboduus, natione magis quam ratione barbarus, finitimos omnes aut bello domuit, aut conditionibus sui juris fecit.* Lib. ii. f. 108. He was attacked afterwards by Catualda at the head of a powerful army, and driven from his throne. He fled for refuge into Italy, and lived a state prisoner at Ravenna during a space of twenty years, forgetting all his former dignity, and growing grey in disgrace and misery. *An-*

als, b. ii. f. 63. With regard to Tudrus, the other prince mentioned by Tacitus, nothing is known at present.

(*d*) We are told by Tacitus that it was the policy of Rome to make even kings the instruments of her ambition. With this view, the emperors disposed of sceptres whenever an occasion offered itself; and accordingly Tiberius, to keep in subjection a large body of German emigrants, appointed Vannius to reign over them. *Annals*, b. ii. f. 63. When the German prince was afterwards attacked by the Hermundurians, the emperor Claudius declined to take any part in the war, thinking it sufficient to promise the German king a safe retreat, if the insurgents prevailed against him. *Annals*, b. xii. f. 29. We read in Dio, b. lxxvii. that the Lygians, harassed in Mysia by the Suevians, sent their ambassadors to solicit the protection of Domitian, who was unwilling to involve the empire in a war, and therefore sent a slender force, but privately assisted with a supply of money.

Section XLIII.

(*a*) History has not left materials for an accurate account of the four nations here enumerated. The commentators, however, assign their territories in the following manner. The Marfignians dwelt on the north-east of Bohemia, near the Viadrus (now the ODER), which rises in Moravia, and runs through Silesia, Brandenburg, and Pomerania into the Baltic. The Gothinians inhabited part of Silesia and Hungary. The Osians bordered on the last people, and extended as far as the Danube. The Burians were settled near the Krapack Mountains, and the sources of the Vistula.

(*b*) Ptolemy mentions iron-mines in or near the country of
of

of the Quadians. The Gothinians laboured in those mines, and had therefore, says Tacitus, more reason to be ashamed of their submission. This is well explained by Ernest, the German editor: they had iron, and did not make use of it to assert their liberty. The answer of Solon to Cræsus, king of Lydia, is well known: The people, he said, who have most iron, will be masters of all your gold. The Gothinians did not understand that plain and obvious truth.

(c) These are the mountains between Moravia, Hungary, Silesia, and Bohemia.

(d) The nation of the Lygians inhabited part of Silesia, of Prussia, and Poland as far as the banks of the Vistula. They are mentioned by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xii. f. 29.

(e) The situation of these several tribes cannot be stated with any degree of certainty. Brotier, and other learned critics, place them in Silesia, Brandenburg, and Poland, between the Viadrus (the ODER) and the Vistula. Some of the commentators will have it, that the word *Silesia* was derived from the people called the ELYSIANS. The etymology seems to be strained, and how it is supported does not merit further enquiry.

(f) It has been observed (f. ix. note *a*), that the Greeks and Romans amused themselves with a discovery of their own deities in the various objects of superstitious veneration among the barbarous nations, which their arms had overawed or conquered. The Romans worshipped Castor and Pollux, as two stars propitious to mariners: Horace calls them *Fratres Helenæ, Lucida*

Lucida sydera; but it is not probable that the Naharvalians ever heard of the Roman mythology. During a storm they saw meteors and glittering lights on the sails and masts of ships. Considering those exhalations as the forerunners of an approaching calm, they deified that phænomenon, and paid their adoration to it. Seneca has described it with exactness: in storms, he says, Castor and Pollux shine like stars on the sails of the vessel, and the mariners then conceive that they are favoured by those deities. *In magnâ tempestate apparent quasi stellæ velo insidentes: adjuvari se tum periclitantes existimant Pollucis et Castoris numine.* Sen. *Natural. Quæst.* lib. i. f. 1. The Naharvalians, who dwelt near the Baltic, were well acquainted with this *ignis fatuus*, and called it, in their own language, by the name of *Alff*, or *Alp*, which, according to Keyser (see his *Celtic Antiquities*), is still the term among the northern nations for the genii of the mountains. Tacitus, it is most likely, changed the word to *ALCIS*; but that the Greek and Roman Castor and Pollux entered into the idea of rude barbarians, is a supposition too improbable. The Germans worshipped, as Cæsar says, those objects of sight by which they were benefited; they saw the operations of nature, and thought them the immediate effect of a deity presiding in that department. The Greeks and Romans did the same. When they found among barbarians a god of war, a god of thunder, or a goddess of love, they found their own divinities, and made their religion universal. The late Dr. Musgrave, in his *Dissertation on the Grecian Mythology*, was aware of this national vanity, and, accordingly, observes that the Greeks were sagacious enough to find out their own gods in Persia, notwithstanding the known contrariety of the two religions. The Persians, we are told, worshipped JUPITER under the name of OROMASDES; HADES under the name of

ARIMA-

ARIMANIUS; and VENUS under the name of MITRA. It was the same with respect to the Romans and the Gauls. The many peculiar superstitions of the druids were so totally foreign to all that we know of the Romans, as to preclude every idea of one nation having borrowed from the other. Yet Cæsar does not hesitate to say, that the Gauls worshipped APOLLO, MARS, JUPITER, and MINERVA; meaning, as may be supposed, certain gods corresponding in their attributes to those so denominated by his countrymen. The gods of Scandinavia were in later times consubstantiated, in like manner, with the gods of Latium; but no one will pretend that their WODEN, THOR, and FRICA were copies of JUPITER, MERCURY, and VENUS. And yet when the Goths came to intermix with the Romans, they found resemblance enough between their gods to translate each of those words by the other; and this custom appears so universal, that we have no other way of rendering WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, and FRIDAY into Latin, but by calling them DIES MERCURII, JOVIS, and VENERIS. See Musgrave on the *Græcian Mythology*, p. 13—15. Hence we may conclude, that though Tacitus finds CASTOR and POLLUX among a race of savages bordering on the Baltic, it was, notwithstanding, nothing more than some of the attributes of those mythological deities, whom a gross and ignorant people worshipped under the name of ALFF, or ALP, changed by the Roman author into the word ALCIS. But it is observable, that Tacitus throws from himself what is said in the text of CASTOR and POLLUX, since he adds expressly, that he follows the Roman interpretation: *interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant*. Whoever is desirous to have a clear idea of the German and Scandinavian gods, will find a full account in the *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. ch. 6; as also in Schedius, *De Diis Germanis*.

Germanis. It is evident in Verstegan's *British Antiquities*, that the German and other northern nations worshipped the Sun and Moon, whence were derived Sunday and Monday; and also TUISTO, WODEN, THOR, FRICA or FREA, and SEATER, called Saturn by the Roman writers; and thence we have Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, formed in regular succession, from the deities above enumerated. In that rude system of theology, the national vanity of the Greeks and Romans found Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and ther est. See this Tract, f. ix. note (a).

(g) The custom of painting the body has been in general use among all savage nations, for ornament as well as terror in the day of battle. Cæsar says, the Britons in general paint themselves with woad, which gives a blue cast to the skin, and makes them look dreadful in battle. Book v. f. 14. The elder Pliny (b. xxii. f. 1) mentions the same custom among the Dacians and Sarmatians. It is almost superfluous to say that the Britons, who retired to the hills of Caledonia, were called PICTS, from the custom of painting their bodies and their shields. For an account of the same practice among the tribes of North America, see Creuxius, *Historia Canadensis*, p. 70.

(b) The Gothones dwelt near the mouth of the Vistula, in part of Pomerania and the north-west of Poland. If they were not the same as the Goths, who will be mentioned hereafter, they were, most probably, in alliance with that famous people.

(i) The Rugians were situated on the Baltic shore. The town of RUGENWALD and the isle of RUGEN are subsisting memorials of this people and their name. The Lemovians were
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in the neighbourhood of the Rugians on the coast of the Baltic, near the city of DANTZIG. History has recorded the exploits of the HERULI, who afterwards inhabited the territory of the last-mentioned people, and were the first of the Germans who, under ODOACER, established themselves in Italy; but with regard to the Rugians there are no lights to guide us.

Section XLIV.

(a) The Suiones occupied Sweden, and the Danish isles of Fumen, Langland, Zeeland, &c. From them and the Cimbrians issued forth the Norman race, who carried the terror of their arms through several parts of Europe, and at length took possession of the fertile province in France, which derived from those adventurers the present name of Normandy. The GOTHS, the VISIGOTHS, and OSTROGOTHS overturned the Roman empire, and took the city of Rome, which had vainly promised itself an eternal duration, and boasted of the immovable stone of the capitol; *capitoli immobile saxum*. The laws of the Visigoths are still extant, but they have not the simplicity of the German laws. The SUIONES are said by Tacitus to have dwelt in the ocean; *ipso in oceano*. Scandinavia (the ancient name of SWEDEN and NORWAY) was supposed to be an island. Pliny says, that the Baltic Sea (which he calls CODANUS SINUS) is filled with a number of islands, of which Scandinavia is the largest; but no more than a small portion of it was known to the Romans. Pliny, lib. iv. f. 13.

(b) The naval force of the Suiones was for a long time considerable. Their descendants in the eleventh century had the honour of framing the code of nautical laws, which were published at WISBY, the capital city of the isle of Gothland. The North

American tribes build their canoes in the same form. The extremities terminate in two sharp points; so that, in order to go backward, the canoemen have only to change offices. He who remains behind, steers with his oar. All the canoes, the smallest not excepted, carry sail, and with a favourable wind make twenty leagues a day. Charlevoix, letter xii.

(c) The love of money is here assigned as the cause of that state of slavery in which the Suiones were content to live. The observation is worthy of Tacitus, who, upon this occasion, called to mind the good old republic, and knew that the great revolution that happened, was occasioned by a total change of principle; that is, by substituting a passion for riches in the room of ancient virtue. As a proof of the vast wealth of the SUIONES, Adam of Bremen (*Ecclesiastical History*, ch. 233) describes a temple built at Ubsola (now Upsal), not far from the cities of Sictona and Birca. The temple, he says, is richly adorned with gold, and the people worship the statues of their principal gods. THOR is seated on a couch, with WODEN on one side, and FRICA on the other. Stockholm, the present capital of Sweden, rose out of the ruins of the two ancient cities of Sictona and Birca. The crown among the Suiones is said by the learned to have been hereditary, not elective; and this seems to be fairly inferred from an arbitrary government, that knew no limitations, no uncertain or precarious rule of submission.

Section XLV.

(a) The Frozen Ocean, which begins in latitude 81, can scarce be deemed navigable. That this sea was meant by Tacitus is by no means certain. It is more probable that he had in contemplation the northern extremity of the Baltic Sea, with
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the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, which are frozen every winter, and, consequently, impracticable to mariners.

(*b*) It is well known that in the northern climates, the sun, in some latitudes, is above the horizon during the four-and-twenty hours; in others still more to the north, an entire month, and at the Pole full six months. Astronomy was not well understood in the days of Tacitus: hence the idea of the sun emerging out of the sea, and the horses of the god being visible. Tacitus has given a poetical description, like that in Juvenal (sat. xiv. v. 280), which mentions the sun hissing in the Herculean gulf.

Audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.

(*c*) The ancients thought that the ocean was the boundary of nature, and that no land lay beyond it. Thus Curtius, speaking of the Indian Ocean, says, that Nature can proceed no further. *Ne Naturam quidem longius posse procedere.* Lib. ix. f. 28. He afterwards talks of Alexander's entering that sea, which Nature designed as the utmost limit of the habitable world. *Licebit decurrere in illud mare, quod rebus humanis terminum voluit esse Natura.* Lib. ix. f. 8.

(*d*) The Æstians inhabited the kingdom of Prussia, Samogitia and Courland, and the palatinate of Livonia. La Bletterie is of opinion that they were called ÆSTYI from the word EST, because they were situated on the eastern side of Germany, on the borders of the Suevian Ocean, or the Baltic Sea. Their language bore an affinity to the British, because the people, lying contiguous to Sarmatia, retained the Scythico-Celtic dialect, which was for a long time in use among the Britons.

and divers parts of Asia, Africa, and even America; but Hartman, who wrote the *History of the Prussian Amber*, treats all those accounts as fables, and denies *amber* to be found any where but in the northern countries of Europe, viz. Poland, Silesia, Jutland, Holstein, and Denmark; but most of all in Prussia, where the amber gathered on the coast yields that prince a handsome revenue. See Chambers's *Dictionary*, verbo *Amber*.

(f) Naturalists are much divided as to the origin of *amber*, and to what class of bodies it belongs; some referring it to the vegetable, others to the mineral, and some even to the animal kingdom. Its natural history, and its chemical analysis, afford something in favour of each opinion. Some have imagined it a concretion of the tears of birds, or the urine of certain beasts; and others, a congelation formed in the Baltic Sea, or in fountains, where it is found swimming like pitch. On the other hand, it is supposed by many to be a bitumen trickling into the sea from subterraneous sources, and, when concreted, thrown ashore by the waves. This last opinion seems now to be discarded. Many contend, that it is produced in Prussia by mixing with the vitriolic salts abounding in that country, and, its fluidity being fixed, it congeals into what we call *amber*. The chemists are as much divided as the naturalists: some of them refer it to the class of sulphurs or bitumens, while others contend that it is of the vegetable kind, from its resolving into the same principles with vegetables; viz. water, spirit, salt, and oil. See Chambers's *Dictionary*. To decide between so many contending parties is not the business of these annotations; but that amber is not a mineral or subterraneous substance, may be inferred from the spiders, ants, and bees, and other insects, which
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(d) FREA, or FRICA, was deemed to be the mother of the gods. See *Northern Antiquities*, and f. xi. note (c). Brotier says, that vestiges of their symbolic representation are still subsisting in Sweden, where the peasants, in the month of February (the season formerly sacred to FREA), make boars of paste, and use them in superstitious ceremonies. See Eccard, *De Rebus Franciæ Orientalis*, tom. i. p. 409.

(e) Pliny (b. xxxviii. f. 3) agrees with Tacitus that amber, or *succinum*, was by the Germans called *gleffum*; a word latinised from GLESS, or GLASS. He says, that it was found in great quantities in the islands of the northern seas, and that one of those islands, remarkably productive, was known by the name of *Gleffaria*. The Greeks used the word *electrum* for amber, and thence gave to the places that produced that substance the name of ELECTRIDES; but, confounding the VENETI (now the Venetians) with the VENEDI, who dwelt on the borders of Sarmatia, and were the conveyers of amber into Italy, they erroneously supposed that the substance, which they so much admired, was gathered on the banks of the ERIDANUS, now the Po. Adopting that mistake, the poets feigned that the sisters of Phaeton were converted into poplars, and that their tears, distilling through the pores of the trees, formed the concretion, which served to embellish the dress of the Roman ladies.

Inde fluunt lachrymæ; stillataque sole rigescunt
De ramis electra novis, quæ lucidus amnis
Excipit, et nuribus mittit gestanda Latinis.

METAMORPH. lib. ii. v. 364.

Authors make mention of other places, besides the banks of the Po, where amber is gathered; such as the coast of Marseilles, and

are almost universally found in the transparent body. Pope, in his satirical style, has said,

Pretty in *amber* to observe the forms
Of hairs, and straws, and dirt, and grubs, and worms ;
The things we know are neither rich nor rare,
But wonder how the devil they got there.

If the authority of another poet may be admitted, Martial has removed the wonder. He tells us, in three beautiful epigrams, that amber is a distillation from the branches of the poplar ; that in its fluid state it catches various insects, and afterwards, hardening into a solid substance, incloses them in a tomb that enhances their value. The classical reader will, perhaps, be pleased to find Martial's elegant verses inserted in this place. The first is on a bee inclosed in amber :

Et latet, et lucet Phaëtonide condita gutta,
Ut videatur apīs nectare clausa suo :
Dignum tantorum pretium tulit illa laborum,
Credibile est ipsam sic voluisse mori.

Lib. iv. epig. 32.

The second describes a viper caught in the transparent substance, where it has a nobler tomb than Cleopatra.

Flentibus Heliadum ramis dum vipera serpit,
Fluxit in obstantem succina gemma feram.
Quæ dum miratur pingui se rore teneri,
Concreto riguit vincta repente gelu.
Ne tibi regali placeas, Cleopatra, sepulchro,
Vipera si tumulo nobiliore jacet.

Lib. iv. epig. 59.

The third epigram describes an ant entombed in the same manner :

Dum

Dum phaëtonteâ formica vagatur in umbrâ,
 Implicuit tenuem fuccina gutta feram.
 Sic modo quæ fuerat vitâ contempta manente,
 Funeribus facta est nunc pretiosa fuis.

Lib. vi. epig. 15.

Whether Martial had sufficient physical knowledge may still be matter of doubt; but a late writer (Formey, of the Academy at Berlin), who pursued his enquiry with unwearied diligence, has concluded, not without probability, that amber is a fluid that oozes from pine and poplar trees.

(g) The Sitones, according to Brotier and others, were the inhabitants of Norway; and, since they are mentioned as a people included in the general name of the Suevian nation, an idea may be formed of the vast extent of that prodigious territory, reaching from the Baltic to the Danube. The state of slavery, to which they submitted, is mentioned in the emphatic manner of Tacitus. They degenerated from liberty, because they were content to be slaves in a land of freedom; and they were sunk beneath the usual debasement of servitude, because they endured the galling yoke of a female reign. Tacitus makes that reflection in the true spirit of a Roman republican, who knew that it was the policy of his country, not to suffer the softer sex to intermeddle in any department of the state. The ladies at Rome were, during their whole lives, subject to the authority of their fathers, their husbands, or their brothers. From the expulsion of the Tarquin family, no title, alluding to the rank or employment of the husband, was annexed to the wife. There were no terms in the Latin language to signify *senatresses*, *dictatresses*, or even *empresses*. When the fathers were willing to lavish titles and dignities on Livia, the mother of Tiberius, that politic prince

prince restrained their zeal by reminding them, that it was a state maxim not to be prodigal of honours in favour of women. *Annals*, b. i. f. 14. Freinshemius, who, in his supplement to Livy, has given a description of Germany, is angry with Tacitus for the opinion which so pointedly proscribes a female reign. He says (b. civ. f. 21) that, in the time of Tacitus, Norway was governed by a queen distinguished by her spirit of enterprise. He adds, that there has been a succession of other heroines, whose wisdom, magnanimity, and warlike achievements the glory of the proudest monarch has not been able to surpass. But Freinshemius, it should be remembered, was historiographer to Christina, Queen of Sweden, and his work is dedicated to his Royal mistress.

Section XLVI.

(a) The Peucinians, often known by the name of Bastarnians, and so called by Pliny, dwelt on the eastern side of Germany, and extended as far as the island now called Piczina, which is formed by the branches of the Danube, near the Pontic Sea. The territory of the Venedians, a contiguous people, lay on the north-east side of Germany, and stretched over a long tract of country as far as the SINUS VENEDICUS, now the gulf of Dantzic. When the German nations burst into Italy, France, and Spain, the Venedians, who were also called WINEDI, settled on vacant lands between the Vistula and the Elbe, and soon after crossed the Danube to plant themselves in Dalmatia, Illyricum, and Carniola, near the Noric Alps. Their language was the Slavonian, which subsists at this day. The FENNIANS are described by Pliny, who calls their country Eningia, but, as Brotier observes, the better reading seems to be Feningia; now Finland, a province of Sweden.

(b) Sarmatia

(*b*) Sarmatia (as has been mentioned f. i. note *c*) was divided from Germany by the Vistula, and a range of mountains; but still we find that, towards the north, part of the country on the east side of that river was supposed to belong to Germany, and was called GERMANIA TRANSVISTULANA. Tacitus, however, assigns all beyond the Vistula to Sarmatia. Modern geographers, upon the authority of Pliny and other writers, considered the Peucinians and Venedians as German nations, and therefore, in their charts, called their territory by the name of GERMANO-SARMATIA. It is evident that, living beyond the Vistula, they were properly inhabitants of Sarmatia, though their language, their modes of life, and their apparel clearly demonstrate a German origin.

(*c*) The Fennians, or, in modern language, the Finlanders, were settled in Scandinavia, which was reckoned part of Germany. The reader will find in Warnefrid's History (*De Gestis Langobard.* lib. v.) an account of the poverty and savage manners of these people, perfectly coinciding with what we are told by Tacitus. "The SCRITOFINNI (for so he calls the Fenni) are surrounded with snow in the midst of summer; and being in point of sagacity almost on a level with the brute creation, they live on the raw flesh of wild animals, and use the hide for their clothing. For the purpose of hunting the wild beasts they have the art of bending pieces of wood into the shape of a bow, and with these they spring and leap amidst the snows." Brotier sees in this account a resemblance of the snow-shoes, or raquets, used by the North American savages. See Charlevoix, let. xiv.

(*d*) Having nothing, they were secure against the violence of men; and they had no reason to dread the vengeance of

Some critics have imagined that the great author wrote from invention, intending, by a fictitious draught of savage manners, to give a political satire on the manners of the Romans, like the *Gulliver* of Swift. But in answer to those who, in this instance as well as many others, have suspected the fidelity of the historian, it may be asked, how it has happened, that the manners here delineated are a counterpart of the savage customs of Canada, and other parts of America? The same causes have produced the same effects in both parts of the world. It has been the scope of the foregoing notes to point out the similitude as often as it occurred. The likeness is so striking, that it serves to confirm the account given by Tacitus, and to prove, beyond a doubt, that he drew his colouring from nature, not from the storehouse of a lively imagination. The force of this argument was felt by Dr. Robertson; and he has, accordingly, formed a comparison between the ancient Germans and the savage tribes of America, which the reader will find, *Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 250.

It may be asked, in the second place, how it has happened that the manners of the ancient Germans can be traced with so much certainty in all the countries of Europe? The answer is obvious. The descendants of those people, when they made their irruption into France, Spain, and Italy, carried with them the manners of their country, and founded laws, which sprung from the same source. The codes still extant, such as the Salic, the Ripuarian, the Burgundian, the Lombard, and many others, evidently bespeak their German origin. The Anglo-Saxon government in this country plainly shews from what soil it sprung. The *michel-gemote*, or great meeting; the *wittena-*
T t 2
gemote,

Heaven. Seneca has a similar sentiment. He says, in commendation of poverty, What can be happier than that state, which promises perpetual liberty, without an idea of danger from man, without any thing to fear from the wrath of the gods? *Quanto hoc majus est, quo promittitur perpetua libertas, nullius nec hominis nec Dei timor?* Epist. xvii. Delivered by their extreme poverty from all apprehensions, this rude and simple people had no desires beyond their wretched condition: like Abdalominus, the gardener, in Quintus Curtius, they had nothing, and they wanted nothing. *Nihil habenti, nihil defuit.*

The Hellusians and Oxionians, who are the last people mentioned by Tacitus, are supposed by learned antiquaries to have been inhabitants of Lapland. Nothing more is known of them, than that fame reported them to be an ambiguous mixture of the human countenance and the limbs of wild beasts. What gave birth to those ancient fables was, probably, the dress of the natives, who, in those regions of frost and snow, were covered with the hides of animals, like the Samojedes, and other savage nations near the Frozen Ocean. But to amuse his readers with a fabulous narrative was not the design of such an author as Tacitus. He was not writing a romance. He meant to give, upon the fullest information, an authentic account of a people, whose fierce and unconquerable love of liberty was, as he says himself, more dangerous to the Roman empire than all the pomp and pride of oriental monarchs. He has accordingly left, in his Treatise of the Germans, a faithful picture of society in its wild, uncultivated state. His work, compendious as it is, may be fairly called the most precious monument of antiquity.

gemote, or meeting of the wise men ; the shires, the hundreds, the composition for homicide, and, above all, the limited authority of the king, as Tacitus expresses it, *nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas*, are manifest proofs of the obligation the people of England are under to their German ancestors for that free constitution, which for so many centuries has stood the shock of civil wars, and, though often tottering on the brink of destruction, still rears its head, the pride of every honest Briton, and the wonder of foreign nations.

——— ruituraque semper
Stat, mirum ! moles.

Sir William Blackstone, who knew how to be profound with ease and elegance, has truly said, If we would investigate the elements of the English laws, the originals should be traced to their fountains ; to the customs of the Britons and Germans, as recorded by Cæsar and Tacitus ; to the codes of the northern nations, and, more especially, to those of the Saxon princes ; but above all, to that inexhaustible reservoir of antiquities, the Feodal Law, or, as Spelman has entitled it, the Law of Nations in our Western Orb. See vol. i. p. 36. The same observation has been made by Vertot with regard to the constitution of the French monarchy, which stood, for a length of time, on the foundation of civil liberty, till the three estates, or general council of the realm, were merged in the supreme court of justice, improperly called a parliament. Vertot has given a compendious view of Tacitus, and, by a curious parallel between the manners of the Franks and those of the ancient Germans, has clearly shewn the origin of the French constitution. See three dissertations in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*,
vol.

vol. ii. 4to edit. Those pieces are a just commentary on Tacitus ; and, if we add the laws and institutions of other parts of Europe, we shall be of opinion with Montesquieu, that “ in Cæsar and Tacitus we read the code of Barbarian laws, and in the code we read Cæsar and Tacitus.”

END OF THE NOTES

ON THE

MANNERS OF THE GERMANS.

N O T E S

ON THE

L I F E O F A G R I C O L A .

OF THE
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THIS work is supposed by the commentators to have been written before the Treatise on the Manners of the Germans, in the third consulship of the emperor Nerva, and the second of Verginius Rufus, in the year of Rome 850, and of the Christian æra 97. Brotier accedes to this opinion; but the reason, which he assigns, does not seem to be satisfactory. He observes that Tacitus, in the third section, mentions the emperor Nerva; but as he does not call him *DIVUS NERVA*, the deified Nerva, the learned commentator infers that Nerva was still living. This reasoning might have some weight, if we did not read, in section xliv, that it was the ardent wish of Agricola, that he might live to behold Trajan in the imperial seat. If Nerva was then alive, the wish to see another in his room would have been an awkward compliment to the reigning prince. It is, perhaps, for

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this reason that Lipsius thinks this very elegant tract was written at the same time with the Manners of the Germans, in the beginning of the emperor Trajan. The question is not very material, since conjecture alone must decide it. The piece itself is admitted to be a masterpiece in the kind. Tacitus was son-in-law to Agricola; and while filial piety breathes through his work, he never departs from the integrity of his own character. He has left an historical monument highly interesting to every Briton, who wishes to know the manners of his ancestors, and the spirit of liberty that from the earliest time distinguished the natives of Britain. "Agricola, as Hume observes, was the general, who
 " finally established the dominion of the Romans in this island.
 " He governed it in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. He carried his victorious arms northward; defeated the
 " Britons in every encounter, pierced into the forests and the
 " mountains of Caledonia, reduced every state to subjection in
 " the southern parts of the island, and chased before him all the
 " men of fiercer and more intractable spirits, who deemed war
 " and death itself less intolerable than servitude under the victors.
 " He defeated them in a decisive action, which they fought under
 " Galgacus; and having fixed a chain of garrisons between the
 " friths of Clyde and Forth, he cut off the ruder and more barren
 " parts of the island, and secured the Roman province from the
 " incursions of the barbarous inhabitants. During these military
 " enterprises, he neglected not the arts of peace. He introduced
 " laws and civility among the Britons; taught them to desire
 " and raise all the conveniencies of life; reconciled them to the
 " Roman language and manners; instructed them in letters and
 " science; and employed every expedient to render those chains,
 " which he had forged, both easy and agreeable to them."
 Hume's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 9. In this passage Mr. Hume has given
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a summary of the Life of Agricola. It is extended by Tacitus in a style more open than the didactic form of the Essay on the German Manners required, but still with the precision, both in sentiment and diction, peculiar to the author. In rich but subdued colours he gives a striking picture of Agricola, leaving to posterity a portion of history, which it would be in vain to seek in the dry gazette-style of Suetonius, or in the page of any writer of that period.

Section I.

(a) Injustice to living merit proceeds from a variety of causes; from inattention, ignorance, or envy. We praise the past, and neglect the present. *Vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi*, says Tacitus, *Annals*, b. ii. f. 88. Velleius Paterculus makes the same remark, and adds the reason. We envy the living, and venerate departed merit: by the former we think ourselves overwhelmed; we edify by the latter. *Præsentia invidiâ, præterita veneratione prosequimur; et his nos obrui, illis instrui credimus*. Lib. ii. f. 92. Before either Tacitus or Paterculus, Horace had expressed the same sentiment:

Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.
Lib. iii. ode 24.

Though living virtue we despise,
When dead, we praise it to the skies.

(b) Cornelius Nepos tells us that *Chabrias*, the Athenian general, when recalled by the violence of the people, did not choose to stay long in the sight of his fellow citizens, because envy, the common vice of all free and great cities, would be sure to behold rising merit with a malignant eye. *Est enim hoc com-*

mune vitium in magnis liberisque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriæ comes sit, et libenter de his detrahant, quos eminere videant altius.
 Corn. Nep. in *Chabriâ*, f. iii.

(c) Cicero has left a beautiful epistle to his friend Luceius, earnestly urging him to interweave with his history of Roman affairs a full account of Cicero's consulship, and the various turns of fortune which he met with in consequence of a firm and upright administration. This request, he says, an awkward bashfulness deterred him from making in person; but, separated as they then were, he could speak with confidence; for a letter does not blush. *Coram me tecum eadem hæc agere sæpe conantem deteruit pudor quidam pænè subrusticus; quæ nunc expromam absens audacius: epistola enim non erubescit.* He proceeds to acknowledge his ambition to live in history; he avows his hopes of obtaining from the remembrance of after ages a glorious immortality, and even the pleasure of enjoying his posthumous fame in his own lifetime. If his friend should not comply with his wishes, he threatens to undertake the work himself, after the example of many illustrious men, who have written their own history. He is, however, aware that such a performance may be liable to many objections. When a praise-worthy action occurs, the author must speak of himself with reserve and modesty; and, where there happens to be room for censure, he may glide over the passage, or varnish it with art, or pass it by in silence. For this reason, the life of an eminent citizen, written by himself, is not entitled to much credit, and, by consequence, the practice is fallen into disrepute. No man, the critics observe, should be the trumpeter of his own fame. The very public cryers, who declare the victors in the gymnastic games, are more modest: they crown the conquerors, and proclaim their names with an audible voice; but when, in their turn, they have gained a victory, they
 call

call other cryers to their assistance, that they themselves may not be the publishers of their own fame. *Quod si a te non impetro, hoc est, si qua res te impedierit; cogar fortasse facere, quod nonnulli sæpe reprehendunt: scribam ipse de me, multorum tamen exemplo, et clarorum virorum. Sed, quod te non fugit, hæc sunt in hoc genere vitia; et verecundius ipsi de sese scribant necesse est, si quid est laudandum; et prætereant, si quid forte reprehendendum est. Accedit etiam ut minor sit fides, minor auctoritas; nulli denique reprehendant, et dicant verecundiores esse præcones ludorum gymniorum, qui, cum cæteris coronas imposuerint victoribus, eorumque nomina magnâ voce pronuntiârint, cum ipsi ante ludorum missionem coronâ donentur, alium præconem adhibeant, ne suâ voce ipsi se victores esse prædicent.* CICERO AD FAMILIARES, lib. v. epist. 12.

(d) The two persons mentioned in this place, as having written memoirs of their own lives, were men of superior eminence, distinguished as well by their virtues as their abilities. Rutilius was consul A. U. C. 649, before the Christian æra 105. He had served in the wars in Numidia; and in the year of Rome 657, when Mucius Scævola was appointed proconsular governor of Asia Minor, he was chosen by that virtuous citizen in the rank of lieutenant governor. In the course of their administration, they acquired the love and admiration of the province, by a constant exercise of those virtues, which had been the practice, it may be said the fashion, of the citizens of Rome, but in that period began to decline, yet not so rapidly as to give to distinguished merit the name of singularity. The administration of Scævola was pronounced by the senate a model for the conduct of all future governors. He had completed a thorough reform in the mode of collecting the revenues of the province, and thereby gave umbrage to the Roman knights, who were, at that time, the managers

managers of all the tributes and imposts paid by foreign nations. From the same order of men commissioners were chosen to hear and determine all complaints for peculation. A charge of that kind could not with any colour be brought against so revered a character as that of Mucius Scævola; but the men, who had been used to profit by extortion and rapine, were determined to wreak their malice on Rutilius, who had co-operated with the proconsul in all his wisest regulations. They resented the good he had done to others as an injury to themselves. An accusation was framed; and witnesses were suborned. The cause was heard by the Roman knights; and no wonder that before such a tribunal innocence fell a sacrifice. In the number of commissioners who sat in judgment, there was a Roman knight, of the name of Apicius, at that time a famous epicure, supposed to be of the same family with the second of the name, who distinguished himself by his gluttony in the reign of Tiberius. To avoid a sentence of condemnation, Rutilius went into voluntary exile. This did not appease the resentment of the commissioners. They proceeded to judgment, and imposed a fine that greatly exceeded the whole fortune of their devoted victim. Rutilius withdrew to the very province which he was said to have plundered, and there lived in the highest credit, respected by all ranks of men, and honoured by the princes in alliance with Rome. The remainder of his life was a triumph over his enemies. Sylla granted him liberty to return to Rome, but he refused to accept that act of grace. At the breaking out of the civil wars, his friends suggested to him, that, in the convulsions of the state, it was probable, that the various exiles would be restored to their country. "No," said Rutilius, "I will never return: I had rather leave my country to blush for the injustice which I have suffered, than be an eye-witness of the horrors of war, and the
" miseries

“ miseries of a distracted people.” During his exile he revised and published the speeches which he had made on different occasions at Rome. He also wrote the history of the Numantian wars, and the memoirs of his own life, to which Tacitus has alluded. Velleius Paterculus calls Rutilius the best man, not only of his own time, but of any age. He exerted himself, says the same historian, in opposition to Tiberius Gracchus, to support the cause of the senate; and yet that very body became his open enemies. He was prosecuted for illegal exactions in the province of Asia, and condemned, to the great grief of the city of Rome. *Quippe eam potestatem nacti equites Gracchanis legibus, cum in multos clarissimos, atque innocentissimos viros sævissent, tum Publium Rutilium, virum non sæculi sui, sed omnis ævi optimum, interrogatum lege repetundarum, maximo cum gemitu civitatis, damnaverant. In iis ipsis, quæ pro senatu moliebatur, senatum habuit adversarium.* See Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. f. 13. Cicero, *De Claris Orat.* f. 115.

Æmilius Scaurus is another instance of that conscious integrity with which an upright citizen could venture to talk of himself. He was consul A. U. C. 639, before the Christian æra 85. He was descended from a patrician family; but, having but a moderate fortune, he owed his elevation to his talents. He bore for many years the honourable title of PRINCE OF THE SENATE; a title which added nothing to his power, but gave him great weight and authority, implying superior merit, and pre-eminence in virtue. Cicero says of him and Rutilius, that, though exercised in the practice of the forum, neither of them could be ranked in the first class of orators. They were not deficient in abilities, but eloquence was not their talent. *Neuter summi oratoris habuit laudem, et uterque in multis causis versatus erat. Quamquam iis quidem non omnino ingenium, sed oratorium ingenium defuit.* Of

Scaurus

Scaurus in particular, Cicero adds, that in his speeches there was the wisdom of a statesman, and the commanding gravity of a virtuous citizen; the more persuasive, as he delivered himself with the air of a man, who was giving his testimony, not with the art of an advocate pleading a cause. His mode of oratory was not calculated for the meridian of the forum, but in debate was wonderfully graceful in a man, who was prince of the senate. He spoke with prudence, and his character gave him weight and authority. *In Scauri oratione, sapientis hominis et recti gravitas summa, et naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas, non ut causam, sed ut testimonium dicere putares. Hoc dicendi genus, ad patrocinia mediocriter aptum videbatur; ad senatoriam vero sententiam, cujus erat ILLE PRINCEPS, vel maximè: significabat enim non prudentiam solum, sed, quod maximè rem continebat, fidem. De Claris Orat. f. cxi. and cxii.* The character of Scaurus, drawn by Sallust, gives a different idea of that eminent citizen. According to the historian, he preserved the exterior decencies, the surface of virtue, disguising his passions, and artfully concealing his vices; by his birth illustrious, enterprising, factious, fond of power, of riches, and the honours of the state. *Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum; cæterum vitia sua callidè occultans. Bell. Jugurth. Delph. edit. p. 73.* But the veracity of Sallust is sometimes problematical. His own morals were not the best. He was spiteful to Cicero; he preferred Cæsar to Cato, and was not always lifted on the side of virtue. The testimony of two such men as Cicero and Tacitus may fairly be allowed to preponderate against a writer whose integrity is by no means established. Valerius Maximus relates a fact that does honour to the memory of Scaurus: being accused by one Varius of having received a bribe from Mithridates to betray the interest of the commonwealth, he said in his defence; “I appeal to the
citizens

citizens of Rome, a great majority of whom could not be witnesses of the conduct I pursued, and the honours I acquired; and I will dare shortly to state my case: Varius, a native of Spain, charges Æmilius Scaurus with venality, and says that for a royal bribe he was a traitor to his country: Æmilius Scaurus denies the charge, and declares aloud that such a crime is foreign to his heart. Which of us deserves to be believed? The magnanimity of the answer excited the general admiration; shouts and acclamations followed, and to appease the people, the prosecutor desisted from his wild attempt. *Qui cum pro rostris accusaretur, quod a rege Mithridate ob rempublicam prodendam pecuniam accepisset, causam suam ita egit: Audebo vos, quorum major pars honoribus et actis meis interesse non potuit, interrogare: Varius Sucronensis Æmilium Scaurum regiâ mercede corruptum imperium populi Romani prodidisse ait: Æmilius Scaurus huic se affinem esse culpæ negat. Utri creditis? Cujus dicti admiratione populus commotus Varium ab illâ dementissimâ actione pertinaci clamore depulit.* Val. Max. *De Fiduciâ sui*, lib. iii. cap. 7. Scaurus had a son, who degenerated to such a degree of profligacy from his father, that Pliny the elder is in doubt, which was the greatest evil, the proscriptions of Sylla, or the ædileship of Marcus Scaurus. *Cujus nescio an ædilitas maximè prostraverit mores civiles, majusque sit Syllæ malum tanta privigni potentia quam proscriptio tot millium.* Pliny, lib. xxxvi. f. 24. In the passage already cited from Cicero *DE CLARIS ORATORIBUS*, we are told that there was still extant a collection of orations by Æmilius Scaurus, and his own life in three books, addressed to his friend Lucius Fufidius; a work of value, which nobody read, while the *Cyropædia*, or *Institution of Cyrus*, was in every body's hands; a work, it must be allowed, of great merit, but, excellent as it is, neither so interesting to the Romans, nor superior to the *Memoirs of*

Scaurus. *Hujus et orationes sunt, et tres ad Lucium Fusidium libri scripti de vitâ ipsius actâ, sane utiles, quos nemo legit. At Cyri vitam et disciplinam legunt, præclaram illam quidem, sed neque tam rebus nostris aptam, nec tamen Scauri laudibus anteponendam. De Claris Orat. f. 112.*

(e) It has been already mentioned, that Agricola commanded in Britain in the time of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. The reign of the last is the evil period intended by Tacitus: see a description of it, *Hist. b. i. f. 2.*

Section II.

(a) Arulenus Rusticus was tribune of the people A. U. C. 819, A. D. 66. Being then a young man of spirit, he wished to distinguish himself by an early display of those principles of honour, which marked his conduct through the remainder of his life. He intended by his tribunitian authority to prevent a decree against Pætus Thrasea. See *Annals*, b. xvi. f. 26. Being prætor, during the short reign of Vitellius, he was sent at the head of an embassy to treat of terms of accommodation with the generals of Vespasian's army, then at the gates of Rome; but neither the rank of ambassador, nor the character of the man could protect him from the outrages committed by the soldiers. Arulenus Rusticus was wounded in the fray, and his lictor was murdered. *History*, b. iii. f. 80. Pliny the younger makes honourable mention of Arulenus Rusticus: he says to his friend, You well know how I loved and honoured that excellent man. You know by what encouragements he cherished my youth, and what praises he bestowed upon me at that time, to make me afterwards capable of deserving them. *Scis enim quantopere summum illum virum suspexerim dilexerimque; quibus ille adolescentiam meam exhortationibus foverit, quibus etiam laudibus, ut laudandus viderer,*

viderer, effecerit. Lib. i. ep. 14. It was the misfortune of this eminent citizen to be in favour at the court of Domitian; but between the esteem of a tyrant and his jealousy the partition is thin, and hatred soon succeeds. The mean compliances of a courtier were foreign to the temper of a man nourished in the stoic school, and animated by the tenets of that proud philosophy. He wrote the life of his friend Pætus Thrasea, and for that offence was condemned to die. Regulus, a man who followed the detestable trade of an informer, undertook the management of the prosecution. Pliny, in a letter to one of his friends, says, Did you ever see a more abject wretch than Regulus has appeared, since the death of Domitian, during whose reign his conduct was no less infamous, though more concealed than under Nero? He not only promoted the prosecution against Arulenus Rusticus, but exulted in his death; insomuch that he actually recited and published a libel upon his memory, wherein he styles him the *ape of the stoics*; adding, that he was stigmatized by the wound he received in the cause of Vitellius. *Vidistine quemquam Marco Regulo timidiores humilioresque post Domitiani mortem, sub quo non minora flagitia commiserat, quam sub Nerone, sed tectiora? Rustici Aruleni periculum foverat, exultaverat morte, adeo ut librum recitaret publicaretque, in quo Rusticum insectatur, atque etiam STOICORUM SIMIAM appellat. Adjicit Vitellianâ cicatrice stigmosum. Agnoscis eloquentiam Reguli!* Lib. i. ep. 5. The stigma of the *Vitellian scar*, to which Regulus alluded, was the effect of the wound received by Arulenus Rusticus in the camp of Vespasian's general. Domitian considered him as a fullen republican, the more dangerous as he professed the haughty doctrine of the stoic sect. Not content with taking away his life, he declared open war against philosophy in general, and banished the professors of every denomination out of Italy. Epictetus was in the number.

Every liberal art was extinguished, and the manners went to ruin.

Pætus Thrasea, for whose panegyric Arulenus Rusticus suffered death, was a native of Padua. He married the daughter of Cæcina Pætus, by the celebrated Arria, who perished with her husband in the reign of Claudius, and left a splendid proof of conjugal fidelity and heroic fortitude. She not only encouraged her husband to dispatch himself, but set him the example, stabbing herself first, and then presenting the dagger to him, with these words: "Pætus, it gives no pain." Martial has four beautiful lines on the subject.

Castâ suo gladium cum traderet Arria Pæto,
 Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis;
 Si qua fides, vulnus, quod feci, non dolet, inquit,
 Sed quod tu facies, hoc mihi, Pæte, dolet.

MARTIAL. lib. i. epig. 14.

When the chaste Arria drew the reeking sword
 From her own breast, and gave it to her lord,
 The wound, she said, believe me, I despise;
 I feel that only, by which Pætus dies.

Their son-in-law, Pætus Thrasea, was of the stoic school; in sentiment and the whole tenour of his conduct wound up to the highest pitch of that boasted sect. He had the courage to be a virtuous citizen under the tyranny of Nero. Tacitus has made honourable mention of him in sundry places; see *Annals*, b. xii. f. 49. b. xiv. f. 12 and 48. Nero at length was determined to cut him off, and in his person to destroy virtue itself. A prosecutor was, accordingly, found; all his praise-worthy actions were summed up, and, by the court logic of the times, stated as
 so

so many crimes. It was urged against him, that when Nero's letter, giving an account of the death of Agrippina, was read in the senate, Thrasea rose from his seat, and left the house; that he seldom attended the juvenile sports, instituted by the emperor; when the fathers were on the point of condemning a poet to death for a copy of verses, he was the author of a milder sentence; and, finally, that he did not assist at the funeral of Poppæa, a new divinity, whom Nero sent to the gods by a kick on the belly. *Annals*, b. xvi. f. 21. He was allowed to choose his own mode of death. Arria, his wife, worthy of her mother of the same name, wanted to share the fate of her husband, but was dissuaded by his advice. Thrasea died with the tranquillity of a philosopher. See the account, *Annals*, b. xvi. f. 34 and 35, and also the *Appendix* to b. xvi. By his wife, Arria, he left a daughter, named FANNIA, who was married to his friend, Helvidius Priscus. Pliny the younger has placed her character in the most amiable light. He describes her emaciated by a fit of illness, in a total decay, with nothing but her spirits to support her, and a vigour of mind worthy of the wife of Helvidius, and the daughter of Thrasea. He adds, She will be, after her decease, a model for all wives, and, perhaps, worthy to be deemed an example of fortitude by the men. The whole letter is in a strain of tender affection, and has all the beauties of style and sentiment that distinguish that elegant author. B. vii. ep. 19.

(b) Senecio was a native of Spain, born in the province of Boetica, where he served the office of quæstor in the reign of Domitian, and never aspired to any higher honour. Not choosing to be a candidate for the magistracy, he was considered as an obstinate republican, hostile to the established government, and a friend to innovation. He undertook the prosecution of Bæbius Massa, who was charged with extortion during his government in

Spain. By the appointment of the senate, he had the younger Pliny for his coadjutor in that business. Massa was convicted, and his effects sequestered. Pliny relates the fact, in a letter to his friend Tacitus; and being persuaded that the historical works of such a writer would be immortal, he begs to have a niche in that temple of fame. If, says he, we are solicitous to have our pictures drawn by the best artist, ought we not to desire that our conduct may be described by the ablest historian? *Auguror (nec me fallit augurium) historias tuas immortales futuras, quo magis illis (ingenue fatebor) inferi cupio. Nam si esse nobis curæ solet, ut facies nostra ab optimo quoque artifice exprimatur, nonne debemus optare, ut operibus nostris similis tui scriptor prædicatorque contingat?* Lib. vii. ep. 33. Tacitus was, probably, writing the history of Domitian, in whose reign Bæbius Massa was condemned. Pliny, as well as Cicero, wished to live in history. Montaigne condemns them both, as instances of immoderate ambition; but let it be remarked, says Melmoth, that the ambition of Pliny will appear far more reasonable than that of Cicero. The latter does not scruple to press his friend, Lucceius, to transgress the rules of history, and to break the bounds of truth in his favour. *Te plane, etiam atque etiam rogo ut et ornes ea vehementius quam fortasse sentis, et leges historiæ negligas, amorique nostro plusculum etiam quam concedit veritas largiaris:* whereas Pliny, with a nobler spirit, expressly declares, that he does not desire Tacitus should heighten the facts, for actions of real worth need only to be set in their true light. *Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, et honeste factis veritas sufficit.* See Cicero to Lucceius, lib. v. ep. 12; and see Pliny to Tacitus, lib. vii. ep. 33. It does not appear that Pliny incurred any danger for the part he acted against Bæbius Massa; but Senecio, who was the first mover in that business, provoked a number of enemies. He had written the life of Helvidius,

Helvidius, and that work gave him the finishing blow. The praise bestowed upon that excellent man inflamed the rage of Domitian. Mettius Carus, a notorious prosecutor of the best men in Rome, stood forth as the accuser of Senecio, who acknowledged himself the author of the book, but urged, in his defence, that he wrote it at the desire of Fannia, the widow of Helvidius. Pliny informs us that Fannia was cited to appear before the senate. The prosecutor, in a tone of menace, asked her, *Did you make such a request?* I DID. *Did you supply him with materials?* I DID SUPPLY HIM. *Was it with the knowledge of your mother, Arria?* IT WAS NOT. Throughout the whole of her examination, not a word betrayed the smallest symptom of fear. She had the courage to preserve a copy of the very book, which the senate, overawed by the tyranny of the times, had ordered to be suppressed; and, taking care to preserve the history of her husband, she carried with her the cause of her exile. *Nam cum Senecio reus esset, quod de vitâ Helvidii libros composuisset, rogatumque se a Fanniâ in defensione dixisset, quærente minaciter Mettio Caro AN ROGASSET? respondit, ROGAVI. An commentarios scripturo dedisset? DEDI. An sciente matre? NESCIENTE. Postremo nullam vocem cedentem periculo emisit. Quin etiam illos ipsos libros, quamquam ex necessitate et metu temporum abolitos senatus consulto, servavit, habuit, tulitque in exilium exilii causam.* Lib. vii. epist. 19. This was the third time of her going into exile. She had accompanied her husband twice in the same disgrace, under Nero, and under Vespasian. Her mother, Arria, Thrasea's widow, was banished for a like cause; for the history of Helvidius, written, as already mentioned, by Arulenus Rusticus. During these prosecutions, the senators were held besieged by a party of armed foldiers; they did not dare to utter a sentiment, or even to groan under the tyranny of the times; they

they were truly, as Pliny describes them, a timid and speechless assembly, where to speak your mind was dangerous; and to declare what you did not think, was the worst state of servitude. *Prospeximus curiam; sed curiam TREPIDAM et ELINGUEM, cum dicere quod velles, periculosum; quod nolles, miserum esset.* See b. viii. ep. 14. Senecio, for his praise of Helvidius, was found guilty, and, to glut the cruelty of Domitian, adjudged to death. His work was burnt by the public executioners. For more of Bæbius Massa, and Mettius Carus, see this Tract, f. 45.

Helvidius Priscus, the subject of Senecio's panegyric, was born at Terracina, a municipal town in Italy. He was confirmed in the doctrines of the stoic school by his father-in-law, Pætus Thrasea. His character, drawn by the masterly hand of Tacitus, may be seen, *Hist.* b. iv. f. 5. He acted, at all times, the part of a firm, a virtuous, and independent senator. When Thrasea was doomed to death by Nero, Helvidius was involved in the ruin of his father-in-law, and sent into banishment. See *Annals*, b. xvi. f. 35. After the death of Nero, he returned to Rome, and in the senate delivered a vehement speech against Eprius Marcellus, the chief instrument in the destruction of Thrasea. *Hist.* b. iv. f. 43. Being advanced to the dignity of prætor, he assisted at the laying of the first stone of the capitol, which was then to be rebuilt, A. U. C. 823, of the Christian æra 70. *Hist.* b. iv. f. 53 and 54. In the reign of Vespasian, he was considered as a determined republican, and, as such, charged by his enemies with a design to restore the old constitution. Dio Cassius, who often betrays a secret rancour towards eminent characters, represents Helvidius as a violent partisan, adverse to the established government, a declaimer in praise of the old democracy, and often launching out into fierce invectives against Vespasian. Had this picture been copied from the life, it is not probable that two such men

men as Tacitus and Pliny would have mentioned him in terms of respect little short of veneration. It is true, that he frequently stood in opposition even to Vespasian; another Cato against Cæsar. The emperor was at length so far irritated as to forbid him the senate. Do you mean, said Helvidius, to exclude me for ever? No, replied Vespasian; attend there, if you will, but you must be a silent senator. Then, said Helvidius, you must not call upon me for my opinion; if I am called upon, I shall deliver it with the freedom of an honest man. This discourse so enraged Vespasian, that, forgetting himself, and his character, he threatened Helvidius with death. The intrepid stoic returned the following answer: "I did not say, that I am immortal: you may, if you will, put me to death: in so doing, you will act YOUR part; and, in dying without fear or trembling, I shall act MINE." This is recorded by Arrian, in his Memoirs of Epicurus, as an answer worthy of a Roman, and a disciple of the stoic school. His conduct, from the opening of Vespasian's reign, was such as gave umbrage to the court. When all ranks of men went forth to meet the emperor on his arrival in Italy, Helvidius did not salute him by the name of Cæsar, but treated him as if he had been no more than a private man. In the edicts, which he issued in his office of prætor, he made no mention of the emperor. Suetonius, *Life of Vesp.* f. 15. These and other circumstances conspired against him. Mucianus, it is reasonable to suppose, inflamed the indignation of the emperor, and, at length, prevailed upon him to abandon Helvidius to the judgment of the senate. He was sent into exile, and soon after followed by an order for his execution. Vespasian, according to Suetonius, dispatched messengers to countermand the sentence; but it was either too late, or the emperor was imposed upon by a false account, that the blow was already struck. In this manner

Helvidius fell a victim. He left a daughter by Fannia, of whom nothing is known : he also left a son, the issue of his first marriage, for a further account of whom, see this Tract, f. xlv. The Roman story, says Lord Orrery (*Remarks on Pliny*, b. vii. ep. 19), cannot produce another instance of so illustrious a family, distinguished by a succession equally bright in heroes and heroines, married among themselves, and more closely allied by their virtues than by their marriages.

List of the Family.

CÆCINA PÆTUS married the first ARRIA.

THRASEA PÆTUS married their daughter, the second ARRIA.

HELVIDIUS PRISCUS married FANNIA, the daughter of the second ARRIA.

HELVIDIUS the younger (son of HELVIDIUS PRISCUS by his first wife) married ANTEIA, the daughter of Publius Anteius, who, from his attachment to Agrippina, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of Nero. See *Annals*, b. xvi. f. 14.

Thus stands the genealogy of this distinguished house.

(c) The custom of destroying books is of ancient date, and was chiefly exercised under despotic governments. Before the invention of printing, there was no way of multiplying copies but by the industry of transcribers, and, at that time, the vengeance of men in power might succeed. At present the common hangman may burn one or more copies of a work deservedly condemned to the flames; but the friends of sedition will take care to be provided with a number, and even the curious will give them a place in their cabinets. It has been mentioned in the last note, that Fannia, the widow of Helvidius, carried the memoirs of her husband into exile; and yet those monuments of genius,

genius, as Tacitus calls them, have not come down to posterity. It must be admitted, that, where the people live under a constitution, so well mixed and balanced, that liberty and property are fully secured, those who are intrusted with the administration are bound by their duty to the public, to put the laws in force, in order to crush the seeds of treason and rebellion. This principle prevailed in the best days of the Roman republic; and accordingly we read in Livy, that, in the second Punic war, when innovations in the religious rites of the Romans were introduced by tumultuous assemblies in the city of Rome, the ædiles and triumviri were sharply accused by the senate, for not preventing such abuses and disorderly meetings. *Incusati graviter ab senatu ædiles triumvirique capitales, quod non prohiberent.* The same writer adds, that, the mischief being found too strong for the ordinary magistrates, the prætor of the city, to whom the business was committed by the fathers, issued his edict, whereby all persons who had in their possession any books, that contained either predictions, forms of prayer, or religious ceremonies, were enjoined to deliver up the same before the next ensuing kalends of April. *Ubi potentius jam esse id malum apparuit, quam ut minores per magistratus sedaretur, Marco Atilio, prætori urbis, negotium ab senatu datum est, ut his religionibus populum liberaret. Is et in concione senatusconsultum recitavit, et edixit, ut quicumque libros vaticinos, precationesque, aut artem sacrificandi conscriptam haberet, eos libros omnes ad se ante kalendas Apriles deferret.* Livy, lib. xxv. f. 1. Under the emperors, when public liberty was extinguished, every thing was turned into the crime of violated majesty. Cremutius Cordus had praised Brutus in his annals, and called Cassius *the last true Roman*. For this he was obliged to finish his days by a total abstinence from food, and his work was ordered to be burnt by the ædiles. But they remained, says Tacitus, in private

hands, and were circulated notwithstanding the prohibition. The historian adds, that nothing so clearly shews the stupidity of the men, who fancy, that by an act of arbitrary power they can prevent the knowledge of after times. Genius gains strength and authority from persecution; and the foreign despots, who have had recourse to the same violent measures, have only succeeded to aggravate their own disgrace, and raise the glory of the writer. *Annals*, b. iv. f. 35. We read in Seneca, that this way of punishing individuals, when nothing in their writings affected the public, was introduced by Augustus in the case of Labienus, a man of genius and an eminent orator. His fame was great, and the applause of the public was rather extorted, than voluntarily given. No man objected to his character, who did not pay a tribute to his talents. Against this man a new punishment was invented; by the contrivance of his enemies, all his books were burnt by the public executioner. Seneca concludes his account of this proceeding with a fine reflection. The policy, he says, of punishing men for their literary merit was altogether new. Happily for the good of mankind, this species of tyranny was not devised before the days of Cicero. What would have been the consequence, if the triumvirate had been able to proscribe the genius of that consummate orator? The gods, in their just dispensations, took care that this method of crushing the powers of the mind, by illegal oppression, should begin at the point of time when all genius ceased to exist. *Res nova et insueta, supplicia de ingeniis sumi. Quid enim futurum fuit, si ingenium Ciceronis triumviris libuisset proscribere? Dii melius, quod eo seculo ista ingeniorum supplicia cæperunt, quo et ingenia desierunt.* Seneca, *Controv.* lib. v. in præfatione. Lord Bacon has a beautiful thought on this subject. *The punishing of wits enhances their authority; and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of*

of truth, that flies up in the face of those who seek to tread it out. The reflection is, certainly, just; but let it not encourage the schismatics, the seditious incendiaries, and the clubs instituted for the purposes of anarchy and wild commotion. It is TRUTH, and TRUTH only, that *flies up in the face* of its oppressors. When the sons of faction tell us, *that men in civil society are born equal*; that in this country *we have no constitution*; that the *succession to the crown cannot be limited by king, lords and commons*; and that the whole body of the people, who, on every demise of the crown, have unequivocally declared their concurrence, *have no power to consent to such a law*; when the abettors of innovation advance these, and other propositions, equally wild and frantic, let them remember, that all good men throughout the nation have trod their doctrines under foot, and that disappointment and contempt must be their portion.

Hot, envious, noisy, proud, the scribbling fry
Burn, hiss, and bounce, waste paper, stink, and die.

(d) Pliny describes the senate in a state of stupefaction, forgetting almost every thing, the liberal arts, and the rules and privileges of their own order. In such times what useful knowledge could be acquired? The senate was convened to do nothing, or to be plunged in guilt and cruelty. They were either a laughing-stock, or the instruments of the vilest tyranny. The fathers were involved in the calamities of the times; the citizens of Rome groaned under oppression during a number of years; and, in that dreadful period, their faculties were debased, and the vigour of their minds utterly extinguished. *Quid tunc disci potuit? quid didicisse juvit? cum senatus aut ad otium, aut ad summum nefas vocaretur; et modo ludibrio, modo dolori retentus, nunquam seria, tristia sæpe censeret. Eadem mala jam senatores, jam participes malorum,*

malorum, multos per annos vidimus tulimusque, quibus ingenia nostra, in posterum quoque bebetata, fracta, confusa sunt. Pliny, lib. viii. ep. 14. But amidst all this tame resignation, a sense of injuries, however suppressed, was rankling in every breast. Men could not forget the massacre of so many citizens of consular rank, and the banishment of the most illustrious women in Rome. See section xlv. and note (a). They groaned under the yoke of bondage, and yet felt, in secret, that liberty was the natural element of a Roman.

Section III.

(a) On the death of Domitian, that emperor's acts were rescinded, and Nerva began his reign, A. U. C. 849; he adopted Trajan in October or November 850, and died on or about the 21st January, 851. Trajan, from that time, was called Nerva Trajanus. As Nerva is not called *DIVUS*, that is, the *DEIFIED* NERVA, Lipsius and most of the commentators have inferred that Nerva was still alive. But how Trajan, in that short time between his adoption and the commencement of his reign, could be said to be every day increasing the public happiness, is not easy to comprehend. It seems more probable that he was emperor of Rome when Tacitus wrote the Life of Agricola, and the compliment paid to him in section xlv. implies that he was then the reigning prince. The words are, *In hac beatissimâ sæculi luce principem Trajanum videre*; in this æra of public felicity to see Trajan on the imperial seat. That wish of Agricola would, surely, not have been so openly expressed during the life of another prince. However the fact may be, it is certain that Nerva crowded into his short reign a number of virtues, which were imitated by Trajan, Hadrian, and both the Antonines; a period of ninety years, which may be truly called the golden age of the empire.

(b) The public security, *SECURITAS PUBLICA*, was an inscription on the medals of the times. Though, in the very outset of his reign, Nerva shewed himself disposed to favour civil liberty, yet Pliny gives an extraordinary picture of Rome in that very period. The servitude of former times, he says, left the citizens in a total ignorance of all liberal arts, and a gross oblivion of the senatorian laws and privileges. For who is willing to learn what is of no kind of use? It is difficult to retain what you acquire, without constant exercise. The return of liberty found us rude and ill-instructed; and yet, charmed with the novelty of public freedom, we are forced to resolve before we understand. *Priorum temporum servitus, ut aliarum optimarum artium, sic etiam juris senatorii oblivionem quamdam et ignorantiam induxit. Quotus enim quisque tam patiens, ut velit discere quod in usu non sit habiturus? Adde, quod difficile est tenere, quæ acceperis, nisi exerceas. Itaque reducta libertas rudes nos et imperitos deprehendit, cujus dulcedine accensi, cogimur quædam facere, antequam nosse.* Pliny, lib. viii. ep. 14. This description applies directly to a neighbouring nation. They were intoxicated with the acquisition of liberty, but did not understand the nature of a free constitution. They were worse than the blind mentioned by Tacitus, and after him by Montesquieu: they built *CHALCEDON*, while they had *BYZANTIUM* in their view. The Romans, as we see in Pliny's account, proceeded in a different manner: they employed themselves in the study of their ancient laws, in order to settle a regular government, and their endeavours were seconded by the virtues of Nerva and Trajan.

(c) Fifteen years was the period of Domitian's reign. Tacitus speaks of it with horror, and promises to review the tyranny and abject slavery of those dismal times. It is to be regretted, that
such

such a savage as Domitian has escaped from the pen of Tacitus. Had his work come down to us, we should have seen the tyrant stretched on the rack of history. The memorial of happiness under Nerva and Trajan, which he also promised, was either never finished, or is now unfortunately lost.

Section IV.

(a) Forojulium was a colony in Narbonne Gaul, now called FREJUS, or FREJULES, situated at the mouth of the river AGENS, on the Mediterranean, about forty miles north-east of Toulon. It was originally a place of considerable magnificence, as appears in a poem written by MICHAEL HOSPITAL, chancellor of France; in which, after mentioning Forojulium, then reduced to a small city, he describes the ruins of a pompous theatre, the grand arches, the public baths, and the aqueducts. He adds, that the structure at the port was laid in ruins, and where there was formerly a port, it is now a dry shore, with adjacent gardens.

Inde Forum Julii, parvam nunc venimus urbem,
Apparent veteris vestigia magna theatri;
Ingentes arcus, et thermæ, et ductus aquarum;
Apparet moles antiqui diruta portûs;
Atque ubi portus erat, siccum nunc littus, et horti.

Delphin Edition of TACITUS, vol. iv. p. 176.

(b) The management of all the foreign revenues was in the hands of the Roman knights. Augustus left the appointment of some of the provinces to the discretion of the senate, and reserved others for his own nomination. The last were called *procuratores Cæsaris*, *imperial procurators*, and were either created Roman knights by virtue of their employment, or considered as of equal dignity. The money collected by the officers of the
senate

senate was paid into the public treasury (*Ærarium*), and that of the imperial procurators into the *FISCUS*, or exchequer of the prince. The rapacity of these men may be reckoned among the causes that finally wrought the downfall of the empire. See *Annals*, b. xii. f. 60.

(c) Seneca has given an admirable character of Agricola's father. If, says he, we need the example of a great and exalted mind, let us imitate Julius Græcinus, that excellent man, whom Caius Cæsar (Caligula) put to death, for no other reason, than because he had more virtue than a tyrant could endure. *Si exemplo magni animi opus est, utamur Græcini Julii, viri egregii, quem Caius Cæsar occidit, ob hoc unum, quod melior vir esset, quam esse quemquam tyranno expediret.* De Beneficiis, lib. ii. f. 21. He wrote books of husbandry, and his delight in agriculture is supposed to have given the name of Agricola to his son.

(d) Marcus Silanus was highly respected, not only for his birth and rank, but also for his eminent virtues. He had the misfortune of being father-in-law to Caligula. He incurred the hatred of that tyrant by his honest counsels. He enjoyed the privilege of being the first, whose opinion was asked by the consul in the senate; but, to deprive him of that honour, Caligula ordered, that, from that time, all of consular dignity should vote according to their seniority. He endeavoured to prevail on Julius Græcinus (mentioned in the last note) to undertake an accusation against Silanus; but not succeeding, he at length took away his life on a frivolous pretence. Though the weather was rough, the tyrant chose to make a little voyage by sea. Silanus, with whom that element did not agree, excused himself from being of the party. This was construed into a crime. Caligula

pretended that he staid at Rome, in order to make himself master of the city, in case any accident should befall the prince; and for that reason compelled him to cut his throat with a razor. Crevier's *Emperors*, vol. iii. b. 7.

(e) We know nothing of Agricola's mother beyond the excellent character given of her by Tacitus. Like some of the best and noblest of the Roman matrons, she attended to the education of her son, which at Rome was a matter of the first importance. The reader will find the advantages of the maternal care stated at large in the Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. 28.

(f) This city (now Marseilles) was founded by a colony of the Phocæans, who carried with them the polished manners and the literature of Greece. Strabo says, the Roman nobility had been used to travel to Athens for their improvement, but of late were content to visit Massilia, or *Marseilles*. See Tacitus, *Annals*, b. iv. f. 43.

(g) Military science, a thorough knowledge of the laws, and the powers of eloquence, were the accomplishments by which a citizen of Rome raised himself to the honours of the magistracy, and the consulship. This was not only the case during the republic, but continued under the emperors. The man, who devoted himself to the speculations of philosophy, or to a life of literature, could not, by those abstract studies, open his way into the senate. Agricola was aware of this, and therefore relinquished the metaphysical systems, to which he felt himself strongly addicted.

Section V.

(a) Suetonius Paulinus was sent by Nero to command in Britain,

tain, A. U. 814, and of the Christian æra 61. Of this officer, one of the ablest that Rome produced during the first century of the Christian æra, an ample character is given by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 29. We learn from the elder Pliny, that in the beginning of the reign of Claudius he commanded in Mauritania, and, having defeated the Barbarians in several battles, laid waste the country as far as Mount Atlas. Pliny, lib. v. f. 1. After the death of Galba, he fought on the side of Otho against Vitellius; and being compelled, against his own judgment, to hazard a battle at Bedriacum, he did not dare, after his defeat, to return to his camp, but saved himself by flight. *Hist.* b. ii. f. 44. He afterwards patched up a reconciliation with Vitellius. *Hist.* b. ii. f. 60. In Britain he signalized himself by his great military talents; and in that school of war Agricola, then about twenty years old, acquired that experience, which enabled him, in process of time, to reduce the whole island to subjection.

(b) Rank in the Roman armies, such as tribune or centurion, was the claim of merit. It was, for that reason, the custom of young men of illustrious families to attend in the train of the general, in order to learn the first rudiments of war, or, in the modern phrase, to *see service*. The young officer lived at headquarters. By learning to obey, he was taught how to command at a future time. He bore some resemblance to what the French have called an *aide de camp*. Suetonius says that Julius Cæsar's first campaign was in Asia, as tent-companion to Marcus Thermus the prætor. *Stipendia prima fecit in Asiâ, Marci Thermi prætoris contubernio.* Suet. in *Jul. Cæs.* f. 2.

(c) There were so many candidates for the rank of tribune, that the general, in order to divide his favours, often granted

those commissions for the term of six months. Thus we see Pliny, in a letter to Sossius, requesting a six months tribuneship for Calvisius, whom he commends in the highest terms. *Hunc rogo semestri tribunatu splendidiorē et sibi et avunculo facias.* Lib. iv. ep. 4. It is probable, however, that Agricola's merit obtained a full commission; but he did not avail himself of his preferment to gain his *commeatus*, which Gronovius calls, *jus absentiae a signis*, the right of being absent from the colours. Those exemptions from duty were often improperly granted, to the great detriment of the service, as we see in the History, b. i. f. 46.

(d) While Suetonius was employed in the reduction of the Isle of *Mona*, now *Anglesey*, the chief seat of the Druids, and consequently the centre of superstition, the Britons, taking advantage of his absence, rose in arms; and, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, attacked the Roman stations, and laid a scene of blood and carnage in every quarter. No less than 70,000 were put to the sword without distinction. Suetonius with his small army marched back through the heart of the country, to the protection of London, then a flourishing city; but he found, on his arrival, that the place was not tenable. He abandoned it to the merciless fury of the enemy, and it was accordingly reduced to ashes. But this cruelty was revenged by Suetonius in a great and decisive battle, in which 80,000 Britons are said to have perished. Boadicea put an end to her life by poison. See the account at large, *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 29, to the end of section 37. In this important scene of military operations, a mind like that of Agricola, young, intent, and ardent, could not fail to prepare himself for that renown, which he was destined to acquire by the complete conquest of the island.

Section VI.

(a) The quæstorship was the first office entered upon by those who aspired to the higher magistracies. It might be undertaken at the age of twenty-four. Thus in the *Annals*, b. iii. f. 29, we find Tiberius applying to the senate to introduce the eldest son of Germanicus, before he was qualified by his age.

(b) Salvius Titianus was the brother of Otho, who, for a short time, was emperor of Rome. During the competition with Vitellius, he was the commander in chief of his brother's army. His rash counsels hurried on the last decisive action at Bedriacum, where his party was totally ruined. He survived that defeat, and the victor did not think him worthy of his resentment. See more of him, *Hist.* b. i. and ii.

(c) The office of tribune owed its origin to a violent dispute between the patricians and plebeians, A. U. C. 260; when the latter, making a defection, could not be reduced to order, till they obtained the privilege of choosing some magistrates out of their own body, for the defence of their liberties, and to ward off all grievances imposed upon them by their superiors. At first two only were elected; three more were added in a short time; and A. U. C. 297, the number increased to ten, which continued ever after. Whoever is conversant in Roman history will recollect that these new officers, appointed at first as the redressers of grievances, usurped the power of doing almost whatever they pleased. They were reputed *sacrofancti*, which they confirmed by law; so that it was deemed an act of impiety to interrupt them when they were speaking. Their interposing in matters debated by the senate was called *intercessio*, and their authority was declared by one word, VETO. The emperors.

emperors left them little more than the name and shadow of magistracy, by contriving to have the same power vested in themselves: hence they were said to be *tribunitia potestate donati*. See *Annals*, b. i. f. 2. Pliny the younger states his opinion of the nature of the office, and says, when he was tribune, he declined to plead in any cause; not thinking it fit, that he, who could command others to be silent, should himself be silenced by an hour-glass. *Deforme arbitrabar hunc, qui jubere posset tacere quemcumque, huic silentium clepsydra indici.* Lib. i. ep. 23.

(d) The office of prætor was first instituted in the year of Rome 389, to gratify the patrician order with a new dignity, in consideration of their having resigned the consulship to the choice of the people. Livy, b. vii. f. 1. In process of time, eight prætors were chosen annually, and had their separate provinces in the administration of justice. One had jurisdiction in all private causes between the citizens of Rome; the second decided in all suits between strangers and the inhabitants of Rome. One was called PRÆTOR URBANUS; the other, PRÆTOR PEREGRINUS. Livy, b. xxiv. f. 44, expressly mentions these distinct offices. The other six prætors were to sit in judgment in all criminal matters. The authority of the judge, who presided in civil causes, was called JURISDICTIO: when the proceeding was for crimes and misdemeanors, it took the name of QUÆSTIO: if before an extraordinary judicature, it was then termed COGNITIO. So the matter is accurately explained by Lipsius. But the new magistrate created by Augustus, called the governor of the city, PRÆFECTUS URBIS, soon absorbed, and drew into his own vortex, the whole business of the police, and the cognizance of all offences. See *Annals*, b. vi. f. 10 and 11. The senators and patricians,

patricians, their wives and sons, were cited to appear at the bar of the senate; but, in all cases, it was competent to the person accused, to remove the cause before the prince himself, who either heard it in his cabinet, or referred it to the præfect of the city, or else to a board of special commissioners. Hence the prætorian dignity had little more than the mere shadow of authority. Boetius calls it an empty name, a mere incumbrance on the senatorian rank. *Inane nomen, et senatorii census gravem sarcinam. Consol. Philosoph. lib. iii.* As the prætors drew lots among themselves, and each man took the province assigned to him by chance, we find that the hearing of civil causes, called JURISDICTION, did not fall to the share of Agricola. For the rest, the præfect of the city, most probably, relieved him from the care of public offences. Hence nothing remained for him, during the whole year of his prætorship, but the exhibition of public spectacles, and the amusement of the populace.

(e) Nero was put to death, A. U. 821, of the Christian æra 68. Galba succeeded, but reigned only a few months. Agricola was chosen for the due care of religion, and the protection of the public temples; but the plunder committed by Nero, about three years before his death, could not be redressed. The whole was dissipated in wild profusion. See *Annals*, b. xv. f. 45.

Section VII.

(a) This was the year of Rome 822, of Christ 69.

(b) INTEMELIUM was a municipal town in the country now called *Vintimiglia*, in the territory of Genoa. It was situated on the Mediterranean. The descent made by a band of adventu-

ever they were present, the prætorian legat had no higher trust than the command of a legion. And yet Cælius, by exasperating his general officer, and inflaming the minds of the soldiers, raised the dissensions of the army to such a pitch, that Trebellius Maximus was obliged to fly from his post, and to abandon the island. *Hist.* b. i. f. 60. Roscius Cælius remained to enjoy his victory. He governed in a tumultuous manner, by violent measures assuming the supreme authority. His legion had been tardy in declaring for Vespasian, and the delay was imputed to the seditious spirit of the commander. Mucianus thought fit to recall him. Agricola went a second time into Britain, and put himself at the head of the legion, which is supposed to have been at that time quartered at *Deva*, now *Chester*. An inscription has been found in the following words: *Deva Leg. XX. Victrix*. See Camden's *Britannia*, p. 538.

Section VIII.

(a) Vettius Bolanus was sent by Vitellius to command in Britain, after the abdication of Trebellius Maximus. He had served under Corbulo in Armenia, but, according to Tacitus, does not seem to have profited by the example of so great a master. Mediocrity was his element. And yet Statius, in a poem to Crispinus, the son of Bolanus, lays out the whole force of his genius to celebrate the warlike achievements of the father. He stuns us with a muster-roll of his virtues, his exploits in the east, and his trophies in Britain. Bolanus, he says, waged war on the banks of the Araxes, and fought to reduce Armenia to subjection under Nero. Corbulo, the commander in chief, admired the ardour of the young officer, and committed to his care the most difficult operations of the campaign.

fers from Otho's fleet, and the havoc and devastation committed by those ferocious warriors, is described by Tacitus, *Hist.* b. ii. f. 12 and 13. Vespasian, it now began to be known, declared himself a candidate for the imperial dignity. The news reached Agricola some time in the month of July, in the above year, 822. *Hist.* b. ii. f. 79.

(c) Vespasian remained in Asia and Ægypt, while his generals carried their victorious arms to the city of Rome, and proclaimed him emperor. His son Titus, in the mean time, carried on the siege of Jerusalem. Domitian was at Rome, but too young to conduct the reins of government. Vice and debauchery were more suited to his genius. Mucianus, the confidential minister of Vespasian, arrived at Rome, and took upon him the whole conduct of the administration. He may be said to have reigned with Vespasian. Antonius was the general who conquered for Vespasian, but Mucianus deprived him of his laurels. See *History*, b. iv; and see the character of Mucianus, *Hist.* b. ii. f. 5.

(d) The twentieth legion was, at that time, in Britain; and it is so expressed in the translation, though the text is silent as to that particular. The Romans had three legions in this island, namely, II^a. *Augusta*; IX^a. *Hispaniensis*; XX^a. *Victrix*. The officer to whom Agricola succeeded, was *Roscius Cælius*, a man of a restless, turbulent disposition, malignant, envious, and always at variance with Trebellius Maximus, the commander in chief. The latter was a *consular legat*, LEGATUS CONSULARIS: Cælius was a *prætorian legat*, LEGATUS PRÆTORIUS. The consular legats were either generals of the army, or governors of provinces, and, for the most part, both at the same time. Where-

ever

Ille juventam
 Protinus ingrediens, pharetratum invasit Araxem
 Belliger, indocilemque fero servire Neroni
 Armeniam. Rigidi summam Mavortis agebat
 Corbulo, sed comitem belli, fociumque laborum,
 Ille quoque egregiis multum miratus in armis,
 Bolanum, atque illi curarum asperrimam fuetus
 Credere, partisque metus.

The poet proceeds to hold up to the son the great example of his father. Learn, he says, from him; you have a family-monitor to inspire you with every virtue; let kindred praise excite you to heroic action. The Decii and the Camilli may be pointed out to others. It will be for you to keep your eye on your father; observe with what undaunted fortitude he advanced as far as Thulé amidst storms and tempests and the rigours of the winter.

Disce, puer: nec enim externo monitore petendus
 Virtutis tibi pulcher amor; cognata ministret
 Laus animos: aliis Decii reduceſque Camilli
 Monſtrentur; tu diſce patrem, quantuſque nigrantem
 Fluclibus occiduis, feſſoque Hyperione Thulen
 Intrarit mandata gerens.

STATIUS, SYLV. lib. v. poem. ii.

Unfortunately for the bard, history is ſilent about all theſe great exploits; and when history, the intelligencer of antiquity, *nuntia vetuſtatis*, ſhews no foundation for this exaggerated praiſe, the poet muſt be ſuppoſed to have indulged a flight of fancy. Bolanus was recalled; and Cerealis, who conducted the war againſt Civilis the Batavian chief (See *Hiſt.* b. iv. ſ. 71), was ſent by Veſpaſian to command the legions in Britain, A. U. 823; A. D. 70. Agricola, we find, was ſtill ſerving in Britain.

Section

Section IX.

(a) The senators were not, of course, of the patrician order, as appears, *Annals* xi. l. 25, where we see the emperor Claudius adding the oldest of the fathers to the list of patricians; the families of that rank, created by Romulus and by Brutus, and also those advanced by Julius Cæsar and Augustus, being well nigh extinguished. Vespasian exercised the same authority, and, under his patronage, Agricola rose to the honours of the state.

(b) The grand divisions of Gaul have been mentioned in the Manners of the Germans, section i. note (a). To that account it may be proper to add, that a subdivision was made by Augustus, distributing the whole country into seven provinces; namely, Narbonne Gaul, Aquitania, the province of Lugdunum, or Lyons, properly Celtic Gaul; Belgic Gaul, and Upper and Lower Germany. These several districts, except Narbonne Gaul, were under the immediate management of the prince. The province of Aquitania was inclosed by the Pyrenean mountains, the Rhone, the Loire, and the Atlantic Ocean.

(c) The governors of provinces administered justice not only to the army, but likewise to the inhabitants. In discharging the functions of his station, Agricola took care to have no dispute, no contest with subordinate officers. Seneca observes, to contend with your superior, is a degree of phrensy; with your equal, something is hazarded; with your inferior, it is a degradation. *Cum superiore contendere, furiosum; cum pari, anceps; cum inferiore, sordidum.*

(d) In the year of Rome 830, and of the Christian æra 77, Vespasian was consul, eighth time, with his son Titus, the sixth.

On the kalends of July in that year, Brotier says, upon the authority of Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. i. p. 291, that Domitian and Agricola were appointed consuls for the remainder of the year. This practice was first introduced by Augustus, under the plausible pretence of having more frequent opportunities to oblige the illustrious families of Rome, but, in fact, to impair the dignity, and lessen the power of the consuls. The succeeding emperors adopted the same plan of policy; and the mischief went on increasing, till in the reign of Commodus there were no less than five-and-twenty consuls in one year. During the whole time, the consuls, who entered on their office in the beginning of January, gave their name to the whole year. Those, who were made occasionally, called *CONSULES SUBROGATI*, are seldom mentioned in the *FASTI CONSULARES*. Hence the difficulty of ascertaining their exact time. Agricola, according to Tillemont, was consul A. D. 77.

Section X.

(a) The writers, who before Tacitus's time had given a description of Britain, were Julius Cæsar, Livy, the celebrated historian, and Fabius Rusticus, the friend of Seneca, often quoted by Tacitus. His works have perished in the general wreck of ancient literature. Livy's account was in book cv. but we have nothing now remaining except the Epitome, not very well filled up by the Supplement of Freinshemius. A slight knowledge of distant countries was sufficient for the ancient geographers. They were never at a loss for some form or shape, to which they compared the place in question, and then conceived that they had given a true outline or draught of the country: but the accurate maps of modern geographers shew how much they were deceived. Pliny the elder informs us, that the original name was
Albion,

Albion, and Sir William Temple gives the etymology of the word. Albion, he says, was derived from *Alpion*; *Alp*, in some of the western languages, signifying high lands or hills, as this isle appears to those who approach it from the continent. In Cæsar's time, Britain was the general appellation. Sir William Temple derives the word from *Brith*, the paint with which the inhabitants gave an azure blue to their bodies and their shields. The Romans, he says, called the island *Britannia*, giving a Latin termination to a barbarous name, in the same manner as they did with regard to other countries that fell under their commerce or conquests; such as Mauritania, Aquitania, and other places commonly known. Camden thinks that Britannia was a compound word, from *Brith*, paint, and *Tania*, a term importing region or country. Cæsar's account of a triangular form may be admitted. Taking the whole length from Dover to the Land's End in Cornwall for one side of the triangle, the eastern and the western coasts contract by degrees, and, though not strictly reduced to a point at the northern extremity, it is there sufficiently narrow to justify Cæsar's comparison, and, according to Tacitus, to present the form of a wedge. It is true, that he calls it an island, but he seems to have had no better authority than the voice of fame. No navigator had, at that time, sailed round the island. The Greeks thought it a large continent. See *Univ. Hist.* vol. xix. p. 68.

(b) Cæsar says that the western side extends towards Spain, and that Ireland, about half as large as Britain, lies opposite to that coast. *Vergit ad Hispaniam, atque occidentem solem, quâ ex parte est Hibernia, dimidio minor, ut existimatur, quam Britannia.* *De Bell. Gall.* lib. v. f. 13. The part of Britain, long since called Scotland, was known to the Romans by the name of *Caledonia*,

donia, because, says Sir William Temple, the north-east part of Scotland was by the natives called CAL DUN, which signifies hills of hazel, with which it was covered; from whence the Romans gave it the name of *Caledonia*; thus forming an easy and pleasant sound out of what was harsh to such elegant tongues and ears as theirs.

(c) An account of this voyage round the island will be found in this Tract, f. 38. Then, for the first time, the Romans obtained geographical certainty.

(d) The *Orcades* (now the *Orkney* Islands) were known by the report of fame in the reign of Claudius. Some historians have ascribed the conquest to that emperor, but for this there does not seem to be sufficient foundation. Flattery was in haste to decorate the prince with laurels unearned. It is true that Pomponius Mela has said that those islands were thirty in number. *Triginta sunt Orcades angustis inter se diductæ spatiis*. Mela, lib. iii. f. 6. Pliny likewise mentions them; but his account of the number shews that he relied on mere report. He says, there are FORTY islands, called the *Orcades*, all separated by narrow straits. *Sunt autem xl. Orcades modicis inter se discretæ spatiis*. Pliny, lib. iv. f. 16. Had Claudius added those islands to the Roman empire, it is not probable that there would have been a variance, as to the number, among the authors of that day. Eutropius, and Eusebius in his Chronicle, are the authorities upon which Claudius must rely for his fame; but the silence of Tacitus is a strong contradiction to those writers.

(e) Much has been said by the Greek and Roman poets of a place in the northern regions, called Thulé; but it is evident they

they did not all agree in the geographical description. Camden is of opinion that the *Thulé* of Tacitus is one of the *Shetland* islands, which lie to the north of the *Orcades*, latit. 60. The ancient poets heard of *Thulé*, and made their own use of it, to adorn their verse. To fix the exact spot was not their business. They were masters of every northern latitude, and they could always command ice enough to build their mountains, and snow enough to cover them. From the historians and geographers more accuracy might be expected, but navigation was in its infancy. The Northern Ocean, as Tacitus has observed in the *Manners of the Germans*, always adverse to mariners, was seldom visited by ships from the Roman world. *Thulé* was, in general, understood to be the most remote land in the northern latitudes, but the exact local situation was not ascertained. Pliny the elder had all the information that diligence could collect, and he knew how to embellish what he heard with all the graces of elegant composition. But still the Northern Ocean was unexplored. The German Sea, he says, is interspersed with a number of islands, called *GLESSARIÆ*, and by the Greeks, *ELECTRIDÆ*, because amber (*electrum*) is found there in considerable quantities. Of these islands, *Thulé* is the most distant; and there, at the summer solstice, when the sun is passing the tropic of Cancer, the inhabitants have no night; and, in like manner, during the winter they see no day, for the space, as is generally supposed, of six months. *Ab adverso in Germanicum mare sparsæ Glessariæ, quas Electridas Græci recentiores appellavere, quod ibi electrum nasceretur. Ultima omnium, quæ memorantur, Thulé; in qua solstitio nullas esse noctes indicavimus, Cancris signum sole transiente, nullosque contra per brumam dies. Hoc quidem senis mensibus continuis fieri arbitrantur.* Pliny, lib. iv. f. 30. But it is evident that *Shetland* could not be the place intended by Pliny. A night or
day

day of six months is known in more northern latitudes. Procopius, in his History of the Gothic War, book ii. places Thulé in Norway, which was thought by the ancients to be an island. Agricola's fleet might see the coast of Norway at a distance, and, having heard of *Thulé*, might conclude that they had seen that region of eternal frost and snow. This, or, according to the conjecture of Camden, Shetland, might be the Thulé of Tacitus. That of Pliny was, most probably, Iceland, especially as he says it lay within one day's sail from the Frozen Ocean. *A Thulé unius diei navigatione mare concretum, a nonnullis Cronium appellatur.* Lib. iv. f. 30. If Iceland was intended by Pliny, the accounts given by navigators must have been very imperfect, since he makes no mention of three volcanos, particularly Mount *Hecla*, which, amidst a waste of snow, constantly throws up columns of smoke and fire. See a Discourse, *Sur la Navigation de Pythéas à Thulé*, *Memoirs of the Acad. of Belles Lettres*, vol. xxxvii. p. 436.

(f) From vague and uncertain accounts of the Frozen Ocean, the ancients might form their idea of a sea in such a thick and concrete state, that the oars could hardly move, and the winds scarcely agitate, such a sluggish mass of water. But the tranquillity of those seas has been long known to be a mere fiction. It is, therefore, needless to examine the reasons assigned by Tacitus, to account for a phenomenon which does not exist. See what is said of this sea, *Manners of the Germans*, f. 45. What is said of the various inlets, through which the tide forces its way into the heart of the country, is sufficiently warranted by the *Æstuarium Bodotriæ* (the Firth of Forth), by the *Glota* (the Firth of Clyde), and other well known harbours, creeks, bays, and rivers of Scotland.

Section XI.

(a) Through the want of literary records, the history of barbarous nations is generally lost in darkness. When the origin of a people could not be traced, the difficulty was surmounted, by supposing that the soil, by a certain fecundity in those early seasons of the world, produced the race of man. Mother earth, or MATER TELLUS, satisfied the enquiries of the most profound philosophy. The sons of the earth were called *indigenæ*, *aborigines*, or natives of the soil. Men were supposed to spring from the bowels of the earth, from the trunks of trees, and even from rocks. The poets were the philosophers and historians of the age. Horace talks of the human race issuing out of the earth: *cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris*; and Ovid gives them no other origin. But the age of darkness is past, and the reveries of ignorance have long since vanished. We are now content to be descended from Adam, instead of reckoning rocks and caves for our progenitors. Tacitus judges by a better rule. From certain resemblances of feature, language and manners; from the size of limb and colour of the hair, he concludes, not without probability, that this island was peopled from Germany, Spain, and Gaul. The government of the country was like that of Gaul, consisting of several nations under different petty princes. Cæsar reckons no less than four in Kent, book v. f. 22. The most considerable tribes, or nations (Caledonia not included), were the *Dumnonii*, in Devonshire and Cornwall; the *Silures*, in Herefordshire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Glamorgan; the *Ordovices*, in North Wales; the *Trinobantes*, in Middlesex and Essex; the *Cantii*, or people of Kent; the *Iceni*, in Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire; and the *Brigantes*, in Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland.

(b) The *Caledonians*, and the etymology of the name, have been already mentioned, f. x. note (a).

(c) The *Silures*, as already stated, occupied Herefordshire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Glamorganshire. They may be called the inhabitants of South Wales. The *Iberians* were the first inhabitants of Spain, so called from the river *Iberus*, now the *Ebro*.

(d) Cæsar tells us that frequent migrations were made from Belgic Gaul into Britain; and that the adventurers, having gained possession by force of arms, employed themselves in cultivating the land, in a climate which they found more temperate than what they had known in Gaul. *Maritima pars ab iis, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ ex Belgio transferunt, et bello illato ibi remanserunt, atque agros colere cæperunt. Loca sunt temperatiora quàm in Galliâ, remissioribus frigoribus.* Lib. v. f. 12. The continent, most undoubtedly, was peopled first, and the redundant numbers overflowed into the adjacent isles.

(e) The *Druids*, according to Cæsar's account, believed in the transmigration of souls, and that doctrine they thought had a happy tendency to inspire men with courage, and a contempt of death. They taught their pupils a system of astronomy; they described the various revolutions of the planets, the dimensions of the globe, the operations of nature; they talked with reverence of the immortal gods, and initiated their youth in all their mysteries. *In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios: atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa præterea de sideribus, atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine,*
de

de rerum naturâ, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant, et juventuti tradunt. De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. f. 13. Human sacrifices, as observed in a former note, were part of their superstition. Living bodies were inclosed in large ozier cages, and consumed in the flames. That the same rites and ceremonies were established in Britain, there can be no doubt, since we are told by Cæsar, that the religious system of Gaul was transplanted from Britain; and, even in his time, those, who wished to be perfectly skilled in the druidical doctrines, passed over into this island for instruction. *Disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur. Et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo, discendi causa, proficiscuntur. De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. f. 12.* The late Mr. Hume has observed, “that no idolatrous worship ever attained such an ascendant over mankind as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons; and the Romans, after their conquest, finding it impossible to reconcile those nations to the laws and institutions of their masters, were at last obliged to abolish the druidical system by penal statutes; a violence, which had never, in any other instance, been practised by those tolerating conquerors.” Hume’s *Hist.* vol. i. p. 5. See Tacitus, *Annals*, book xiv. f. 30.

(f) This conformity of languages, Brotier says, still subsists in some parts of Cornwall and of the ancient Armorica, now called Bretagne. It is said, that a dialect of the Welch is but just extinct in Cornwall.

(g) Solinus, speaking of the warlike Britons, says, when a woman is delivered of a male child, she places the infant’s first food on the point of her husband’s sword, and inserts it in the little one’s mouth; and, offering up her supplications to the gods

of her country, devoutly prays, that he may die in war amidst hostile swords and javelins. *Solinus*, chap. 22.

(*b*) The Britons were conquered, in the reign of Claudius, by Aulus Plautius, the first Roman general who landed on the island, since the invasion of Julius Cæsar. Plautius defeated the natives, A. U. C. 796, A. D. 43. Several signal victories were afterwards obtained by Suetonius Paulinus, Petilius Cerealis, and other commanders, inasmuch that the southern part of the island was reduced to a Roman province. The Caledonians stood for liberty, till their last decisive action, under Galgacus (see from section xxx. to end of section xxxviii.), when they retired to their fastnesses in the Highlands.

Section XII.

(*a*) This manner of fighting in chariots calls to mind the practice of heroic times described in the battles of the Iliad. But the heroes of the poet differed, in their notion of the point of honour, from the British chiefs. With the Greeks and Trojans, the driver of the carriage was the second in rank: the warrior of high renown was the person who fought. Hector had his 'squire to guide the reins, while he displayed his towering plume, and braved every danger. Achilles had his Automedon.

Automedon and Alcimus prepare
Th' immortal couriers and the radiant car.
The charioteer then whirl'd the lash around,
And swift ascended at one active bound;
Then bright in heav'nly arms, above his 'squire
Achilles mounts, and sets the field on fire.

POPE'S Iliad, book xix. v. 426.

Virgil in a beautiful picture representing the wars of Troy, in
the

the first Æneid, describes the Trojans flying before Achilles, who pursues with ardour in his warlike car :

Hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.

In the fifth Iliad Æneas invites Pandarus to join him in the fight :

Haste, seize the whip, and snatch the guiding rein ;
The warrior's fury let this arm sustain ;
Or, if to combat thy bold heart incline,
Take thou the spear, the chariot's care be mine.

POPE'S Iliad, book v. verse 284.

Among the Britons it was otherwise : the chief warrior drove the chariot, by Cæsar called *effeda*, and by Tacitus *covinus* : see this Tract, f. xxxv. note (b). The British chiefs, as it seems, thought it more honourable to drive the car into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and distinguish themselves by braving every danger. It appears, likewise, that a number of combatants mounted together in the same vehicle, which was not the case in Homer's battles.

(b) We read in the Annals, b. xii. f. 36, of Caractacus, king of the Silures ; in b. xiv. f. 31, of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni ; and f. 35, of Boadicea, his widow, who succeeded to her husband's dominions. For Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, who delivered up Caractacus to the Romans, see *Annals*, b. xii. f. 36, and *Hist.* b. iii. f. 45.

(c) The original says, *rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus*. This, translated verbally, imports, *that a meeting is seldom had between two or three cities to repel the common danger*. But the word CIVITAS is rarely used

used by the Latin historians for what, in the modern acceptation, is called a city. CIVITAS generally implies a body politic, a people united in civil society, under a settled constitution, and a regular frame of laws. Such were the Silures, under Caractacus; the Icenians, under Boadicea; the Brigantes, under Cartimandua: but there is no instance of their acting in concert for their mutual defence.

(d) Tacitus, in this place, may be said to be out of his depth. His notions here, as well as in the passage concerning the Suiones in the Manners of the Germans, section xlv, hold more of the poet than the philosopher. Astronomy and geography were sciences not sufficiently cultivated in his time. Pliny endeavours more rationally to account for the phenomenon, from the position of the sun at the summer solstice. In Italy, he says, the length of the day is fifteen hours, and in Britain seventeen; the nights in that island being so bright, that, when the sun at the solstice approaches so near the earth as to become vertical, the northern regions have, by consequence, a day of six months, and in the winter a night of the same length. *In Italiâ quindecim horas; in Britanniâ septemdecim; ubi æstate lucidæ noctes, haud dubiè repromittunt id, quod cogit ratio credi, solstitii diebus accedente sole propius verticem mundi, subiecta terræ continuos dies habere senis mensibus, noctesque e diverso ad brumam remoto.* Pliny, lib. ii. f. 75. But long sea voyages were rarely undertaken in Pliny's time, and it is, therefore, no wonder that he wanted due information. He mentions one bold navigator, Pytheas of Marseilles, and, upon his authority, says that at Thulé, which lay six days sail from the northern part of Britain, the day and night were each of them six months long. The same, he adds, was said of the isle of Mona, which was distant from Camelodunum (*Colchester*) about

about two hundred miles. *Quod fieri in insulâ Thulé, Pytheas Massiliensis scripsit, sex dierum navigatione in septentrionem a Britannia distante. Quidam vero et in Mona quæ distat a Cameloduno, Britanniae oppido, circiter ducentis millibus adfirmant.* Pliny, lib. ii. f. 75. If the Thulé of Pytheas was Greenland or Zembla, what is said of the length of days and nights in those islands may be admitted; but the same could not be the case in Britain, or any British island. The Orkneys lie in latitude 60, or thereabouts; and in the summer, their day is not much more than eighteen hours long. But neither Pliny, nor Tacitus, had a just idea of the figure of the earth, and the vicissitudes of seasons occasioned by the annual motion round the sun. The discovery was reserved for the genius of Sir Isaac Newton. Without being a voyager or traveller, that sublime philosopher founded his calculations on mathematical and scientific principles. As Fontenelle observes, he ascertained the true figure of the earth without stirring out of his elbow-chair. The experiments of Maupertuis, and his associates, who in the years 1735 and 1736 measured a degree in Lapland, served to confirm Newton's doctrine; and, from that time, the length of days and nights in all parts of the globe has been scientifically known. Mathematicians have informed us, that the degrees of longitude are not, like those of latitude, always equal, but diminish in proportion as the meridians contract in their approach to the Pole, as may be seen in the common tables, shewing the number of miles contained in a degree of longitude, in each parallel of latitude from the Equator to the Pole. In consequence of this knowledge, and the position of the earth in every part of its orbit, astronomers have laid down their tables of the various climates between the Equator and the extremity of the north. They have enumerated thirty climates; in the first twenty-four, which terminate between the latitudes 66
and

and 67, the days increase by half hours; and in the remaining six, by months. At Spitzbergen, or East Greenland, the day lasts five months, and six at the Pole. Pomponius Mela talks of *Thulé*, but he did not know where to place his island, so as to account for the length of days, which he has described. He says that *Thulé* lies opposite to the coast of the *Belgæ*, and there the nights are dark in winter, but at the summer solstice there is no night at all. *Thulé Belgarum littori opposita est: in eâ noctes per hyemem obscuræ; per solstitium nullæ.* Lib. iii. cap. 6. But that length of days could only happen in the more northern latitudes. When Tacitus says, that the nights, at the extremity of Britain, are so luminous, that the interval between the close and the return of day can scarce be distinguished, this may, perhaps, be admitted, since Lord Mulgrave, in an accurate account of his Voyage to the Northern Seas, performed in the year 1773, says that on the 12th of June (latitude 56: 28) it was then light enough all night to read upon deck. On the 29th of the same month (latitude 77: 59) the adjacent coast, covered with snow and ice, would have suggested the idea of perpetual winter, had not the mildness of the weather, bright sunshine, and constant day-light, given a cheerfulness and novelty to the whole of that striking and romantic scene. In the month of August (latitude 80, or thereabouts) his lordship observed, that, during the whole time of his being in those latitudes, he never found (though Martin has said otherwise) that the sun at midnight in appearance resembled the moon. His lordship adds, that he saw no difference, in clear weather, between the sun at midnight and any other time, but what arose from a different degree of altitude; the brightness of the light appearing there, as well as elsewhere, to depend on the obliquity of his rays. See the *Voyage*, p. 71.

(e) When

(e) When Tacitus endeavours to assign a reason for the short interval between day and night, and says, *that the extreme and flat parts of the earth, casting a low shadow, do not elevate the darkness, and night falls beneath the sky and the stars*, it is impossible to strike out any thing like sense from a passage so very embarrassed and obscure. The reader is left to regret that a writer, of such acute discernment on all political and moral subjects, should be obliged, without any principles of astronomy and geography (a science in that age little understood), to offer a vain hypothesis for reason and sound philosophy. Tacitus, it should seem, thought that the earth was one extensive continued surface, and that night was occasioned by the sun's retiring behind high lands and mountains. The form of the globe, its rotation on its own axis, and the various positions in its annual orbit, are mathematical discoveries, which were not known to the Romans.

(f) Mines of gold and silver, sufficient to reward the conqueror, were found in Mexico and Peru; but this island never produced a quantity to pay the invader for the destruction of the human species. Cicero says, in one of his letters, It is well known that not a single grain of silver could be found in the island. *Illud cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illâ insulâ.* *Ad Attic.* lib. iv. epist. 16. This, however, is contradicted by modern authorities. Camden mentions gold and silver mines in Cumberland, a mine of silver in Flintshire, and of gold in Scotland. See Camden's *Britannia*, p. 692 and 741. The same author, talking of the copper mines in Cumberland, says, that veins of gold and silver were found intermixed with the common ore, and, in the reign of Elizabeth, gave birth to a

suit at law between the Earl of Northumberland and another claimant. Doctor Borlase, in his *History of Cornwall*, p. 214, relates, "that so late as the year 1753, several pieces of gold were found in what the miners call *stream tin*; and silver is now got in considerable quantity from several of our lead mines." A curious paper concerning the *gold mines of Scotland* is given by Mr. Pennant in Append. No. X. to his second part of *A Tour in Scotland in 1772*. But still there never was gold and silver enough to be the price of victory. The other metals, such as iron, lead, tin, and copper, are found in abundance at this day.

(g) Suetonius imputes Cæsar's invasion of Britain to his desire of enriching himself with the pearl found on different parts of the coast. *Britanniam petiisse spe margaritarum. In Jul. Cæs. f. 47.* Pliny says, it is certain that pearls of an inferior size, and rather discoloured, are produced in Britain; since the Deified Julius wished it to be understood, that the breast-plate which he dedicated to Venus, in the temple of the goddess, was composed of British pearl. *In Britannia parvos atque decolores (uniones) nasci certum est, quoniam Divus Julius thoracem, quem Veneri genitrici in templo ejus dicavit, ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intelligi. Plin. lib. ix. f. 35.* The pearls most in request with the ancients were those collected in the Red Sea, the Gulf of Persia, and the Indian Ocean; the next in value were the British, tinged on the surface with a colour resembling gold, but, in general, of a dark hue, and less transparent than the Indian. Camden talks of pearl found in *Caernarvon*, in *Cumberland*, and the British Sea. See his *Britannia*, p. 597, 690, and 752. Mr. Pennant, in his *Tour in Scotland*, 1769, mentions a considerable pearl fishery out of the fresh water muscle in the vicinity of
Perth,

Perth, from whence 10,000*l.* worth was sent to London from 1761 to 1769. But when that ingenious traveller visited Scotland, the fishery was almost exhausted. There is a passage in Pliny that shews the esteem in which the Oriental pearl was held at Rome. Pearls, he says, are imported in such quantities from the Arabian Sea, that Rome was annually drained of an immoderate sum by the inhabitants of the East and the peninsula of India. So much do our finery and our women cost us annually ! *Verum Arabiæ etiamnum felicius mare est : ex illo namque margaritas mittit ; minimâque computatione millies centena sestertia annis omnibus India et Seres, peninsulæque illa imperio nostro adimunt. Tanto nobis deliciæ et feminæ constant !* Pliny, lib. xii. f. 18. This proves what Tacitus says : When so much encouragement was given, the avarice of British merchants would not be deficient. Their pearl, therefore, was of an inferior sort.

Section XIII.

(a) Tacitus now proceeds to relate the progress of the Roman arms in Britain, from the first invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar to the time when Agricola became commander in chief. This, and the preceding account, may by some be called a digression : but, since Agricola subdued the whole island, a description of the country and the inhabitants is a proper introduction to so bright a career of glory. Julius Cæsar, it is well known, made two attempts upon this island ; the first A. U. C. 699, and the second in the following year. The plans which his ambition had formed against his own country, did not leave him at leisure to enlarge the Roman empire. After some slight success, he seems to have been glad to withdraw his

forces. There is some truth in what Lucan has said : He shewed his back to the enemy whom he fought :

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

(b) The moderation or prudence which took place in the councils of Augustus is well known. Content with receiving some petty annual tributes from Britain, that emperor did not choose to involve himself in remote and dangerous wars. It was with him a maxim, that the boundaries of the empire ought not to be enlarged ; and in his will, which after his death was read in the senate, he gave that advice to his successors. See *Annals*, b. i. f. 11. Augustus, says the late Mr. Hume, content with the victory obtained over the liberties of his own country, was little ambitious of acquiring fame by foreign wars ; and being apprehensive lest the same unlimited extent of dominion which had subverted the republic might also overwhelm the empire, he recommended it to his successors never to enlarge the territories of the Romans. Tiberius, jealous of the fame which might be acquired by his generals, made this advice of Augustus a pretence for his inactivity. Hume's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 6. See *Annals*, b. i. f. 77.

(c) Caligula's threatened invasion of Britain ended in an idle and vain parade. History has no scene of folly to compare with it. The German expedition presented a farce to the world, in which the emperor exposed himself to derision. His mock triumph over the Britons was a sequel to the former frolic, but still more absurd and ridiculous. Having written to the senate, to reprimand them for enjoying the pleasures of the circus, while their emperor was exposing himself to the greatest dangers, he
drew

drew up his army on the coast of *Gesoriacum* (now *Boulogne*); and having, with great parade, disposed his *ballistæ* and other war-like engines, he ordered his soldiers to gather the sea shells, and fill their helmets and the skirts of their clothes. These, he said, were the spoils of the ocean, fit to be deposited in the capitol. In memory of this signal victory, he erected a tower, to serve as a light-house for mariners, and by letters to Rome ordered preparations to be made for his triumphal entry, with special directions that it should exceed in magnificence every thing of the kind. The fathers refused to comply, and for their disobedience all were devoted to destruction: but before his bloody purpose could be executed, a conspiracy was formed early in the following year, and Caligula was put to death, A. U. C. 794; A. D. 41. See Suetonius, *Life of Caligula*, f. 46, 47.

(*d*) The Britons, unmolested by the Romans, had enjoyed their liberty near a century, when, in the reign of Claudius, the project of subduing the island was concerted. The most stupid of the emperors was destined to be the conqueror of Britain. A powerful army was sent from Gaul, under the command of able officers. Vespasian was one of the number; and upon that occasion that officer, as Tacitus expresses it, *shewed himself to the Fates*. The southern parts of the island being soon reduced, Claudius resolved to visit his new dominions. He took possession of Camelodunum (*Colchester*), received the submission of several petty kings, and in less than six months returned to Rome, to enjoy the splendour of a triumph, with the additional title of BRITANNICUS. Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, f. 17.

Section XIV.

(*a*) Aulus Plautius was commander in chief of the army
sent

sent by Claudius to the invasion of Britain, A. U. C. 796; A. D. 43.

(b) An account of Ostorius Scapula and the brilliant success of his arms, is given by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xii. f. 31 to 39. He sent Caractacus a prisoner to Rome, A. U. C. 803. From that time he went on in a career of victory for several months; when, in the midst of a war with the Silures, he died worn out with care and fatigue. Camden says, that in the parish of *Dinder*, near Hereford, the traces of a Roman camp are still to be seen, called OYSTER-HILL, and he supposes the name to be derived from Ostorius, the Roman General. Gibson's *Camden*, p. 580.

(c) The Romans had the precaution to establish a strong post, well garrisoned by a body of veterans. This was at *Camulodum*, in the territory of the Trinobantes, now the county of Essex. *Camulodum*, according to Camden, was the town of Malden: Baxter and other antiquarians fix it at Colchester, and that opinion is adopted by most of the commentators.

(d) We read in the *Annals*, that, as soon as the death of Ostorius Scapula was known at Rome, Claudius sent Aulus Didius to succeed to the command. That officer was involved in a war, in favour of Cartimandua against Venufius, her repudiated husband; and, though age and infirmity rendered him inactive, he was enabled by his officers to quell the insurrection. See *Annals*, b. xii. f. 40. In this Tract he is called Didius Gallus: perhaps his name was Aulus Didius Gallus.

(e) Veranius was consul A. U. C. 802. *Annals*, b. xii. f. 5.

(f) Suetonius

(f) Suetonius Paulinus has been already mentioned; see this Tract, section v, note (a); see also *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 29. *Hist.* b. i. f. 87. *Hist.* b. ii. f. 23, 32, 60.

(g) It is unnecessary to repeat that MONA is the isle of *Anglesey*. The channel, that separates it from Caernarvon, is so narrow, that Edward I. attempted to throw a bridge over it. It was the asylum of the Druids, and the capital of their religious rites. Suetonius attacked this place, destroyed their altars, and their sacred groves, where they sacrificed human victims. See *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 29 to 40. It may be necessary to observe, that the Mona of Cæsar and Tacitus ought not to be confounded. That of Cæsar is *the Isle of Man*, b. v. f. 13. Pliny calls it *Moenapia*, b. iv. f. 16. Tacitus always means the isle of Anglesey. Hume observes, that Suetonius, having destroyed the Druids, with their consecrated groves, and triumphed over the religion of the Britons, thought his future progress would be easy in reducing the people to subjection. Hume, *Hist.* vol. i. p. 8. But Paulinus could not stay to make himself master of the island. He was recalled by the revolt under the conduct of Boadicea. The final reduction of the isle was reserved for Agricola. See this Tract, f. 18.

Section XV.

(a) The general revolt of the Britons, and the massacre of the Romans, that followed in consequence of the discontents here painted forth in the strongest colours, are related at large in the *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 31 to 38.

(b) Instead of their own kings, whose power does not appear

last act had been constructed with art, so as to raise expectation, and produce an unforeseen catastrophe, the play would still retain its place in the theatre, inferior to Shakespear only.

(b) On the first intelligence of the revolt, and the dreadful slaughter that followed, Suetonius Paulinus abandoned the isle of Anglesey, and shewed at once his conduct and his valour. See *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 31 to 38.

(c) Petronius Turpilianus succeeded to the government of Britain, A. U. C. 814, having just then closed the year of his consulship. Tacitus informs us, that Suetonius, having lost a few ships on the coast in a gale of wind, was, under that pretence, recalled by order of Nero. Turpilianus undertook no warlike enterprize, content to varnish his own inactivity with the name of peace. *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 39.

(d) The account of Trebellius Maximus, given by Tacitus in his History, differs a little from what is related in the passage before us. Being at variance with Roscius Cælius, an officer of a turbulent spirit, he was obliged to fly to Vitellius for protection, A. U. C. 822, A. D. 69. *Hist.* b. i. f. 60.

(e) Tacitus informs us that Trebellius Maximus was not graciously received by Vitellius, who was then on his way from Lyons into Italy. Vettius Bolanus, a follower in the train of Vitellius, was appointed governor of Britain, A. U. C. 822. *Hist.* b. ii. f. 65. We are told in this Tract, f. 8, that Agricola served in Britain under Bolanus, but repressed his military ardour, lest he should appear desirous of rising superior to his general. In the passage before us, Bolanus seems to have passed his time in

pear to have been sufficiently limited, the Britons now groaned under the oppression of two masters; namely, the governor of the province, and the emperor's procurator. Dio Cassius states those two causes of the insurrection, and adds, as a further incentive, the avarice of Seneca. That philosopher, he says, was a well-practised money-lender, and, being perfectly versed in all the arts of usury, laid out a large sum at exorbitant interest among the natives of Britain. As fast as his money became due, he harassed the province with such unrelenting cruelty, that the distressed inhabitants were fired with indignation. Such is the account of an historian; but an historian with reason suspected of harbouring secret malignity to the most illustrious characters in Rome.

(c) An allusion to the fate of Varus and his legions, which happened in the fortieth year of Augustus, A. U. C. 762; A. D. 9. See *Manners of the Germans*, f. 37, note (d). *Annals*, b. i. sections 58, 61, and 62.

(d) Paulinus was then employed in the isle of Anglesey.

Section XVI.

(a) Boadicea was the daughter of Prasutagus, king of the Icenians: she succeeded to her father's dominions, and, being ignominiously treated by the Romans, headed the revolt, and in the field of action distinguished herself by her martial spirit. *Annals*, b. xiv. The reader, on this occasion, will not forget the late Mr. Glover's excellent tragedy, entitled Boadicea; a piece written in the true style of dramatic poetry; without the luscious sweetness of Rowe; yet elegant, strong, and vigorous. If the

Section XVII.

(a) Petilius Cerealis served, at first, in Britain, under Suetonius Paulinus, *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 32. He fought afterwards on the side of Vespasian against Vitellius, *Hist.* iii. f. 59. He also commanded the legions in the Lower Germany, and, after his victory over Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, was sent by Vespasian to conduct the affairs of Britain, A. U. C. 823, A. D. 70.

(b) The Brigantes, as mentioned in a former note, inhabited the counties of York, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire.

(c) Julius Frontinus had the chief command in Britain, A. U. C. 826. His treatises of *Stratagems* in four books, and another concerning the aqueducts of Rome, are said by *Brotier* and *La Bletterie*, to be still extant. He was one of the most eminent men of the age in which he lived; a lawyer of profound knowledge; a soldier formed both by theory and experience; and, above all, a man not more distinguished by his talents than his virtues. He died in the reign of Vespasian; and Pliny the consul says, he desired, by his last directions, that no monument should be raised to his memory, because, he said, it is a superfluous expence. Men will remember me, if by my conduct in life I have deserved it. *Impensa monumenti supervacua est. Memoria nostri durabit, si vitâ meruimus.* Pliny, lib. ix. epist. 19.

(d) The subjugation of the Silures, a fierce and obstinate enemy, gave the Romans quiet possession of the south of Britain. It will not be improper, in this place, to state in one view, and in regular succession, the several generals who commanded in

indolence; inactive against the enemy, and without authority in his camp. The adulation of Statius, cited in note (a) sect. 8, must, therefore, appear the more surprising. It is among the many instances, which shew that poets excel most in fiction. There is still another passage in the poem already quoted, which leaves all truth at a distance. The poem is addressed to the son of Bolanus: the author asks him, "What a scene of glory will be found in Caledonia, when an old inhabitant of that ferocious island tells you, here your father gave his commands; on yonder turf he harangued the legions! Do you see those watch-towers, and those strong-built forts? Your father erected them, and drew these lines of circumvallation. Those trophies and those darts were by him dedicated to the god of war. The inscriptions are still legible. Behold this breast-plate: your father seized it from a British king."

Quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos!
 Cum tibi longævus referet trucis incola terræ,
 Hic fuetus dare jura parens; hoc cespite turmas
 Affari: nitidas speculas, castellaque longe
 Aspicias? Ille dedit, cinxitque hæc mœnia fossâ:
 Belligeris hæc dona deis, hæc tela dicavit.
 Cernis adhuc titulos; hunc ipse vacantibus armis
 Induit; hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno.

STATIUS, SYLV. lib. v. 142.

When we find from history, that not one word of all this is true, we have only to regret, that a fine poet was obliged to prostitute his pen. Statius gave public recitals of his poems for profit. Juvenal says,

Haud tamen invidas vati, quem pulpita pascunt.

JUVENAL, sat. v.

Britain, from the first enterprize of Claudius, to the arrival of Agricola, who had the glory of subduing this island.

	A. U. C.	A. D.
1. Aulus Plautius, sent by Claudius	796	43
2. Ostorius Scapula, sent by Claudius	803	
3. Aulus Didius, by Claudius -	804	
4. Quintus Veranius, by Claudius	805	
5. Suetonius Paulinus, by Nero -	814	
6. Petronius Turpilianus, by Nero	815	
7. Trebellius Maximus, by Nero -	816	- 63
8. Vettius Bolanus, by Vitellius -	822	
9. Petilius Cerealis, by Vespasian -	824	
10. Julius Frontinus, by Vespasian -	826	
11. Cnæus Julius Agricola, by Vespasian	831	- 78

Section XVIII.

(a) Our author hitherto, like a skilful biographer, has laid himself out to prepare the theatre of war, in which Agricola was to make so conspicuous a figure. His introduction is intimately connected with the ensuing narrative. From this place Agricola becomes the grand object of attention. He arrived in Britain in the summer, A. U. C. 831, A. D. 78.

(b) The Ordovices inhabited the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Montgomery, in North Wales.

(c) Suetonius Paulinus had conquered Anglesea; but the insurrection of the Britons, under Boadicea, did not leave him time to secure possession. As Agricola learned his first rudiments

of war under that commander, he was, probably, engaged in the first invasion of the island. Having entirely subdued the Ordovicians, he formed a resolution to retake the place, which had been snatched out of the conqueror's hands. Mr. Pennant mentions a pass into the vale of Clwyd, in the parish of Llanarmon, which, he says, is still called *Bwlch Agrikle*, probably from having been occupied by Agricola in his way to the isle of Mona. The invasion by Suetonius was seventeen years before the final reduction of the place under the conduct of Agricola.

(d) The elder Pliny calls the laurel the messenger of joy and victory, being always affixed by the Roman generals to their letters of dispatch after success against the enemy, and also to the spears and javelins of the soldiers. *Laurus Romanis præcipuè lætitiæ victoriarumque nuntia additur literis, et militum lanceis pilisque.* Pliny, lib. xv. f. 30. Persius, the satirist, meaning to sneer at Caligula's mock triumph over the Germans, informs us that the emperor sent an account of his pretended victory in a laurelled letter.

O bone, num ignoras? Missa est a Cæsare laurus
Insignem ob cladem Germanæ pubis.

PERSIUS, sat. vi. f. 43.

Section XIX.

(a) Suetonius gives a similar account of Julius Cæsar. That great commander neither took notice of all the faults committed by his soldiers, nor proportioned the punishment to the nature of every offence. Desertion and mutiny were objects of his strict enquiry, and were sure to meet condign punishment. In other cases, he chose rather to connive, than know too much. *Delicta neque observabat omnia, neque pro modo exequebatur: sed deser-*
torum

torum et seditiosorum et inquisitor et punitor acerrimus, connivebat in cæteris. Suet. in *Ful. Cæs.* l. 67.

(*b*) Brotier reads *frumenti et tributorum auclionem*, and understands an *increase of tributes*. Other editions have *exaclionem*, meaning the severity with which they were exacted. It may be doubted whether the word *auclio* is ever used by the Latin writers for augmentation. In general it implies what is understood at present by an auction, and so the word is used by Juvenal; *commissa quod auclio vendit*. Some of the manuscripts in the Vatican are said to have *exaclionem*, and that sense has been adopted in the translation.

(*c*) La Bletterie has a note which throws great light on this whole passage, relative to the tributes and the collectors. In the first place, each province paid to the Romans a tribute of corn, which, in general, was paid in kind. In those provinces which had voluntarily submitted to the dominion of Rome, the farmer delivered the tenth part of his crop. This was what in modern phrase is called *tythe corn*, *frumentum decumanum*. Secondly, in the conquered provinces, such as Britain, the Romans exacted a gross quantity, fixing the bushel at a stated rate. This was called *frumentum stipendiarium*. Thirdly, besides those two modes of collecting, it was further expected that the inhabitants of the several provinces should furnish, at a settled price, whatever was required for the use of government: this was called purchased corn, *frumentum emptum*. Fourthly, the provinces were further charged with a supply for the use of the proconsul, or governor; but the price was arbitrary, at the will and pleasure of the governor himself. This was not always paid in kind. A composition was made in money, and this

was

was called corn at a valuation, *frumentum aestimatum*. Some of the provinces belonged immediately to the emperor; others were considered as the property of the state, and were, therefore, left to the management of the senate. In the imperial provinces, the tribute was carried to the *fiscus*, or the exchequer of the emperor; in the senatorian provinces, the levies belonged to the public, and were carried into the *ærarium*, the treasury of the senate. In the various modes of collecting the several imposts, gross abuses were often practised. As soon as the farmer carried in his crop, the revenue officers locked up his granary, and, till the tribute was discharged, allowed him no access to his own stock. He wished to have the business finally adjusted, but the collector was not at leisure. The farmer languished at the door of his barn, pining for the use of his property; but that liberty was not granted, till with money, or an additional quantity of corn, he was obliged to bribe the officer in order to get the account settled. In this manner he bought his own, and was afterwards compelled, at the requisition of the governor, to sell it at an inferior price. There was still another grievance: the farmer, who lived at a distance from the quarters of the legions, was ordered to bring in his corn for the use of the army, and to deliver it on the spot assigned. The length of way, and the expence of the conveyance, obliged the natives to compound with the officers, who had the iniquity to enrich themselves by this mode of plunder. Whoever has a mind to see the exactions practised by the collectors of the Roman revenue, will find them stated at large in Cicero's third oration against Verres. We there read of an edict whereby it was ordered, that no man should carry his corn to the granary, till he had made his agreement with the collector. The consequence was, that the officer prescribed his own terms; and the impatience of the farmer was
fure

ture to submit. *Exoritur peculiare edictum repentinum, ne quis frumentum de areâ tolleret antea, quam cum decumano pactus esset. Satis hæc magna vis ad inique paciscendum: malo enim plus dare, quam non mature ex areâ tollere. In Verrem, lib. iii. num. 36, 37.* To state all the iniquities of the officers would lead to a great length. They are painted forth in glaring colours by the Roman orator; and if the collectors in Tacitus' time did not improve upon the example left by Verres, there can be no doubt but they practised all the iniquities of that notorious plunderer.

Section XX.

(a) This was the second summer after Agricola arrived in Britain, A. U. C. 832, A. D. 79. Vespasian died this year on the 24th of June: Agricola, from that time, continued to command in Britain during the reign of Titus.

(b) Many vestiges of Roman camps are still to be seen in various parts of England. Two, which were probably raised by Agricola, will be mentioned in the next note.

(c) Agricola, as appears from all circumstances, marched his army from Anglesea, which had surrendered to his arms, through North Wales, on his way to Caledonia. Tacitus does not directly say what road he pursued. This, however, is made sufficiently clear by Gordon in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, or his Journey through most parts of Scotland. He shews, in the first place, that the march in the second summer was as far as the Firth of Edinburgh, as it corresponds with his penetrating as far as the *Tay* in the third campaign. This is rendered still more evident by the æstuaries, or wide mouths of rivers, at the flood resembling arms of the sea, which Agricola passed after founding the ford-
able

able places. Those firths, Gordon observes, must be the *Dee* near Chester, the arm of the sea near Liverpool, *Ribble*, and the *Solloway Firth*, there being no other firths between *Anglesea* and *Scotland*. Gordon produces another reason to prove that the march was on the western side of England, namely the encampments, the vestiges of which are still to be seen in the county of *Annamdale*, and the neighbouring counties; the first at a place called *Burnswark Hill*, near the road from *Carlisle* to *Moffat*; the second, about a quarter of a mile from the kirk of *Middleby*, on the duke of *Queensbury's* estate. These two camps are accurately described by Gordon; and from all these vestiges of Roman works he infers, that *Agricola's* march was through the valley of *Dumfries*, every other road being impracticable for an army. The reader is referred to Gordon's elaborate argument, which he will find in the *Itinerary*, chap. ii. That learned antiquarian has the merit of explaining what the laconic manner of *Tacitus* has left in some obscurity. His judicious observations will shew that the march of the Roman army was through *Lancashire*, *Westmorland*, and *Cumberland*, into *Annamdale* in *Scotland*, and thence as far as *Edinburgh*; and that the whole country, as far as the isthmus between the firths of *Forth* and *Clyde*, was awed and held in check, during the following winter, by the victorious arms of a general, who made such a rapid progress, and disposed his forts and garrisons with so much judgment, that the enemy found them impregnable. Gordon assures us, that on the neck of land which separates the *Forth* and the *Clyde*, there are more remains of Roman works than in any other part of *Scotland*.

Section XXI.

(a) Gordon, in his *Itinerary*, has described the remaining
 VOL. IV. 3 E vestiges

vestiges of a number of forts on the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde, and also of a town, called COMELON, which, he says, is evidently a Roman work ; the ruins of ancient houses are still to be seen. His third chapter is an elaborate dissertation on a Roman temple, now called Arthur's Oon, or Oven, near the Forth ; which, he contends, was built by Agricola, during the winter after his second campaign in Scotland. Hector Boethius is of opinion, that this round edifice was built by Vespasian, when he served in Britain ; and that Aulus Plautius died in the town of *Comelon* in Scotland, which he calls *Camelodunum*. Buchanan explodes this opinion, and, upon the best conjecture he could form, concludes, that *Arthur's Oon* was a structure dedicated to the god *Terminus*. But the conjectures of antiquarians, often ingenious, are too often uncertain. It must, however, be said, amidst this clash of opinions, that Gordon seems to have probability on his side, especially as we find in Tacitus, that Agricola, to allure the people from their barbarous manners, taught them to build houses, where they might begin to taste the pleasures of civilisation. The state of man in savage life, and the policy of softening the uncultivated mind by the introduction of liberal arts, is finely touched by Cicero in his oration for Sextius ; and Plutarch says, that the glory of Alexander did not consist in a number of camels loaded with gold : he either persuaded or compelled the savage tribes of Asia to unite in society, and live under the protection of laws ; that was his true glory ; and those who escaped his conquering sword, were not so happy as the vanquished. There was nothing to reclaim the former from barbarity ; and the latter, even against their will, were tamed and polished.

(b) La Bletterie, in his note on this passage, is alarmed for
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the honour of his country. He doubts whether Agricola was a competent judge; in all events he appeals from the sentence. He wishes, however, that the palm of genius may be contended for by both nations; and that the rivalry between them, which has produced tragic events and scenes of blood, may, for the future, be changed into a literary contest, to enlighten the rest of Europe with sound philosophy, not with vain metaphysics, which, under the specious pretence of thinking profoundly, tend to nothing but the subversion of government and religion. La Bletterie does not disguise his national partiality: he will have it that learning passed from France into this country. In support of his position, he quotes the thread-bare verse:

Gallia caudicos docuit facunda Britannos.

Brotier is above the littleness of national prejudice. He says, it is wonderful that Agricola, in rude and savage times, should be able to foretell the genius of a country, which has since produced Bacon, Milton, and Newton, not to mention others of great and illustrious talents.

Section XXII.

(a) Agricola's third year was A. U. C. 833; A. D. 80.

(b) The river *Tay* issues out of *Loch-Tay* in *Breadalbin*, and running south-east, passes the town of Perth, and falls into the German ocean at Dundee, where it is called the Firth of Tay. Agricola's conquests were, of course, in Fifehire and in Perthshire.

(c) The principal fort built by Agricola was at Ardoch in
3 E 2
Perth-

Perthshire, situated so as to command the entrances into two valleys, *Strathallan* and *Strathbearn*. A description and plan of its remains, still in good preservation, are given by Mr. Pennant in his *Tour in Scotland*, 1772, part ii. p. 101. This fort, commanding two extensive valleys, seems to prove what Tacitus says, viz. that no general shewed greater skill in the choice of advantageous situations.

Section XXIII.

(a) Agricola's fourth campaign was A. U. C. 834; A. D. 81. Titus died this year, on the thirteenth of September, in the forty-first year of his age; having merited, in a short reign of little more than two years, the love of the Roman people, and the applause of posterity. From the death of that lamented emperor, *Agricola was fallen on evil days*. He still pursued his conquests in Britain; but his virtues and his fame in arms rendered him obnoxious to the jealousy of Domitian, who beheld rising merit with a malignant eye.

(b) *Glota* or *Clota*, and *Bodotria*, were the names given by Ptolemy to those famous æstuaries, or arms of the sea. The *Clota* is now called the Clyde, which rises in *Annandale*, and, after a wide circuit, falls into the gulf of Dumbarton, on the western side of Scotland, opposite to the isle of Bute. The *Bodotria* of Ptolemy is the river Forth, which rises in *Monteith*, and, after describing a number of beautiful meanders, discharges itself, near Edinburgh, into an arm of the German Sea, called the *Firth of Forth*.

(c) The space between the Firth of Forth and the Clyde is not more than thirty miles over. Gordon's Itinerary gives a description

description of the ruins of a number of forts in a regular chain, within a small distance from each other, beginning at Dumbar-ton; and thence eastward to Arthur's Oven near the Firth of Forth. See the *Itinerary*, p. 20, 21.

(*d*) By means of these well-situated and well-guarded stations, the Caledonians were confined, in that northern part of the island, as it were in a peninsula. On the same neck of land, Lollius Urbicus, governor of Britain in the reign of Antoninus Pius, erected a wall or rampart, extending from Old Kirkpatrick, on the Clyde, to the borders of the Forth; a space of thirty miles, defended by a chain of forts, all supposed to have been built on the site chosen by Agricola. Some vestiges of the wall are still to be seen. It is usually called Graham's Dike. Guthrie, in his *Geographical Grammar*, says, one of the greatest improvements for inland navigation is now (1771) carrying on, at a considerable expence, by a society of public-spirited gentlemen, for the purpose of joining the rivers Forth and Clyde; by which a communication will be opened between the east and west seas, to the immense advantage of the whole kingdom, as must be evident to every person who shall throw his eye upon the map of Scotland. *Geographical Grammar*, 4to edit.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) Agricola's fifth campaign was in the summer A. U. C. 835; A. D. 82.

(*b*) We are now to see Agricola penetrating further into North Britain; but the laconic style of the author does not distinctly tell us on which side of the country the attempt was made. From the sequel, however, it is clear, that having driven the
Caledo-

Caledonians beyond the isthmus between the Clyde and the Forth, as it were into another island, the Roman general was determined to march against the nations to the north of the Clyde, in order to spread a general alarm, and make an impression on the west side of the country. For that purpose, Tacitus says, he crossed the æstuary, meaning the gulf of Dumbarton. The commentators are much divided about the construction of the words, *nave primâ transgressus*; *he sailed in the first ship*. Some of them will have it, that he embarked in the first ship of his fleet: but we have no account of a fleet in readiness for this expedition. The translation, therefore, has adopted the most natural and obvious sense. Agricola crossed the æstuary of the Clyde, in the first Roman vessel that was ever seen in those parts. His army, in the mean time, marched over the isthmus, probably near Dumbarton, and, making a rapid progress through Argyleshire, advanced to the sea-coast opposite to Ireland. It appears in the following section, that Agricola had no fleet till he ordered ships to be got in readiness for his sixth campaign.

(c) The terms in which La Bletterie expresses himself in his notes on this section, one might imagine were dictated in the heat of the late contests between Ireland and Great Britain. The French author says, "Ireland has more harbours and more convenient ports than any other country in Europe. England has but a small number. Ireland, if she could shake off the British yoke, and form an independent state, would ruin the British commerce; but, to her misfortune, England is too well convinced of this truth." The ruin of Britain would undoubtedly be agreeable to a French patriot; but the man who in his heart is a friend to both countries, may be allowed to express his wish, that,

that, upon proper terms, both islands may be always united in interest. The combined valour of the two kingdoms will be, at all times, an overmatch for the maritime powers of Europe. Some of the historians of Ireland seem to be much offended with Tacitus, on account of the opinion here advanced; namely, that one legion, with a body of auxiliaries, would be sufficient for the conquest of Ireland; and perhaps they are right. Courage has been, in every age, the distinguishing quality of that country. The Roman general would have found a people no less fierce and independent than the Caledonians; and it is probable, that, among the chieftains, there would have been many a GALGACUS to stand forth in the cause of liberty.

Section XXV.

(a) Agricola's sixth campaign was A. U. C. 836; A. D. 83; the second year of Domitian's reign.

(b) Agricola, in the third year of his expeditions, had penetrated, north of the Forth, as far as the Firth of Tay (see section xxii.): but we are told by Tacitus, that the country was over-run, not conquered; nor was it sufficiently explored. And we find, that Agricola, dreading an insurrection of all the nations beyond the Firth of Forth, judged it right to man a fleet, in order to search the coasts and countries on the eastern side of Caledonia. Gordon, in his Itinerary, is of opinion, since no mention is made in the text of the return of those ships, that, after their survey of the coast, they remained either in some road or harbour in Fife-shire, or within the Firth of Tay, being the most commodious shelter from tempestuous weather. The war was now carried on in the counties of *Fife*, *Perth*, and *Angus*, if not farther.

(c) Traces

(c) Traces of these forts and castles are still extant in *Fife-shire*, *Perth*, and *Strathbearn*.

Section XXVI.

(a) This battle, Gordon the antiquarian thinks, was fought in the county of *Fife*; and he draws his conclusion from the appearance of a Roman camp still to be seen at a place called *Loch-Ore*, about two miles from *Loch-Leven*. The form of this camp, Gordon says, is nearest to a square, but in many parts so levelled and defaced, that he could not make a perfect draught of it. To the south of this camp there is a large morass, in which are daily dug up the roots of different trees, in such abundance as serves to shew that it was formerly a great wood; which renders it highly probable that the ninth legion was attacked in that very camp, since Tacitus tells us, that if the bogs and woods had not covered the flight of the Caledonians, the victory obtained by the Romans would have ended the war. We are further told, that near this place there is a small village, called the *Blair*; a word, in the old language, signifying *locus pugnae*, the spot where a battle was fought. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 36.

(b) There were four gates to a Roman camp; one on each side of the circumference, accessible for the use of the baggage horses, and wide in case of a sally. The gates had their distinct names; *Prætoria*, *Decumana*, *Dextra*, and *Sinistra*.

(c) The marshes and forests that protected the Caledonians were, most probably, *Loch-Leven*, and the woods that grew around it, as mentioned in this section, note (a).

Section

Section XXVII.

(a) All public resolutions were formed, among barbarians, at their carousing festivals in religious groves. It was in this manner that CIVILIS drew the Batavians and the Germans into a league against the Romans. See Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. f. 14.

Section XXVIII.

(a) The Usipians inhabited the Duchy of Cleves, and other parts of Germany. See the *Manners of the Germans*, f. xxxii. note (a).

(b) The *Manipuli* were companies of foot, as the *Turmae* were of the cavalry. A cohort consisted of sixty companies, ten in each, amounting in the whole to six hundred men. Each cohort was commanded by a centurion. Roman soldiers were intermixed with the Usipians, in order to instruct a body of auxiliaries in the art of war.

(c) Tacitus has not mentioned the place from which these daring adventurers put to sea. DIO relates the same enterprise, but he also omits the port from which the voyage began. All we learn from that author, or rather from the abridgment of XIPHILIN, is, that certain soldiers, who had mutinied against their centurions, and put them to death, seized a vessel, and sailing, at the mercy of winds and waves, along the western part of the island, landed, against their design, upon the coast, near one of the camps which the Romans had in the country. See Manning's *Dion Cassius*, v. ii. p. 62. Tacitus had an opportunity of being informed by Agricola, his father-in-law; and his account is, therefore, more circumstantial. From both historians it may be fairly collected, that the outset of this desperate

voyage was either from some port in Galloway, or from Cantire in Argyleshire, where Agricola had stationed his garrisons. The deserters, in the course of their voyage, landed at various places, and suffered by famine and other disasters, till they reached the eastern coast, where, and where only, the Romans were stationed in different encampments.

(c) The adventurers, as stated in the last note, having either sailed northward of the Orcades, or through *Pentland Firth*, which divides those islands from the extremity of Scotland, reached the German Ocean; and thence, through want of skill in navigation, or driven by tempestuous weather, arrived at length in the Baltic (*Mare Suevicum*), and landed on the coast of the Suevians. Being considered as freebooters and pirates, their story gained no friends. The boldness of their enterprise found no admirers, and their sufferings excited no compassion. They were seized, first by the Suevi, between the *Vistula* and the *Elbe*. Those who escaped the Suevians, fell into the hands of the Frisians, between the *Amisia* (the Ems) and the Rhine. Being sold to slavery, many of them made their way to the Roman settlements on the west side of the Rhine, and there related their perils by sea and land.

It will not be altogether foreign to the purpose, and perhaps not unwelcome to the reader, if we observe, that, prior to the adventure of the Usipians, there was, in a former age, another enterprise, still more extraordinary. Pliny the elder relates the fact, after Cornelius Nepos, who, in his account of a voyage to the North, says, that in the consulship of Quintus Metellus Celer, and Lucius Afranius (A. U. C. 694, before Christ 60), certain
Indians,

Indians, who had embarked on a commercial voyage, were cast away on the coast of Germany, and given as a present, by the king of the Suevians, to Metellus, who was at that time proconsular governor of Gaul. *Cornelius Nepos de septentrionali circuitu tradit, Quinto Metello Celeri, Lucii Afranii in consulatu collegæ, sed tum Galliæ proconsuli, Indos a rege Suevorum dono datos, qui ex Indiâ commercii causâ navigantes, tempestatibus essent in Germaniam abrepti.* Pliny, lib. ii. f. 67. The work of Cornelius Nepos has not come down to us; and Pliny, as it seems, has abridged too much. The whole tract would have furnished a considerable event in the history of navigation. At present, we are left to conjecture, whether the Indian adventurers sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, through the Atlantic Ocean, and thence into the Northern Seas; or whether they made a voyage still more extraordinary, by passing the island of *Japan*, the coast of *Siberia*, *Kamchatka*, *Zembla* in the Frozen Ocean, and thence round *Lapland* and *Norway*, either into the Baltic or the German Ocean. In the former case, the passage from the East Indies was actually known long before the discovery by the Portuguese in the year 1497. In the second case, if they sailed along the coast of *China* and *Kamchatka*, the north-east passage, hitherto attempted in vain, was explored many centuries ago.

It may be proper to mention, that about the year 1770, a set of navigators from Japan were driven by tempestuous weather to the northern coast of Siberia, and, having landed at *Kamchatka*, were conveyed to Petersburg, and there received by the Empress of Russia with the greatest humanity.

(d) This was the summer in the year of Rome 837, A. D. 84, when Agricola opened his seventh campaign.

Section XXIX.

(a) To ascertain the spot where the *Mons Grampius* or *Grampian Hill* stands, Gordon observes in his Itinerary, has employed the antiquaries both of England and Scotland. Camden, and most of the English, in their commentaries on this passage, fix it at a place called *Grant/bain*; but where that is, Gordon says, he could not discover. The Scotch antiquaries, he observes, are much divided; some contending for the shire of *Angus*, others for the *Blair of Athol* in *Perthshire*, or *Ardoch* in *Strathballan*. After examining those different propositions, Gordon gives his opinion, that the *Mons Grampius*, mentioned by Tacitus, is in *Strathbearn*, half a mile south of the Kirk of *Comerie*. His reasons, as well as they can be condensed in this note, are as follows:—In the first place, there is in Scotland a most remarkable ridge of mountains, called the GRAMPIAN HILLS, which divide the *Highlands* from the *Lowlands*, reaching from *Dumbarton* on the Firth of *Clyde*, as far as *Aberdeen* on the German Ocean. The *Mons Grampius* in question is undoubtedly one of those Grampian hills; and that it was near the *Kirk of Comerie*, Gordon thinks evident from the following facts. Near *Comerie* he found a large extended plain, about a mile in breadth, and several miles in length; and on one part of the plain, a noble square Roman encampment, divided into two partitions, each surrounded with two *aggeres*, or ramparts, and between them a large *fossa*, or ditch, with four distinct entrances into the camp, analogous to those described by Josephus, when the Romans laid siege to Jerusalem. Gordon adds, that he calculated the number of men contained in the southmost camp, according to the allowance of ground made by Polybius for each foot-soldier, and was agreeably surprised to find it contained the precise number which Tacitus says (sect. xxxv.) Agricola had under his command at the battle of *Mons Grampius*,

Grampius, viz. 8000 auxiliaries; and in the other square, exactly 3000 horse. The plain is directly at the foot of the *Grampian hills*; and there are the *colles*, or rising grounds, on which the Caledonians were placed before the battle. Nor is it difficult, on viewing this ground, to guess at the place where the *covinari*, or charioteers, wheeled about. Gordon adds one argument more, which he thinks decisive: the moor, on which the camp stands, is called to this day *Galdachan*, or *Galgachan Ross-moor*; not that *Galgacus* constructed the camp, but here he engaged Agricola's army; for which reason his name is left on the place. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 39 and 40.—It must not be dissembled, that Mr. Pennant, a very ingenious and entertaining traveller, has lately visited the same ground, and has given his reasons for dissenting from Mr. Gordon. What that gentleman advances must always merit attention. The camp, he says, which Gordon has described, lies between the river *Earn*, and the little stream called the *Ruchel*, on a plain too contracted for such a number of combatants, as Tacitus says there was, to form and act in, or for their charioteers or cavalry to scour the field. He admits that there are several small hills near the greater, where the Britons might have ranged themselves before the battle. But the distance from the sea is, with Mr. Pennant, an insuperable argument against this being the spot; as we are expressly informed, that Agricola sent his fleet before, in order to distract and divide the enemy; and that he himself marched with his army, till he arrived at the Grampian mountain, where he found the Caledonians drawn up in force. Mr. Pennant says, from the whole account given by Tacitus, it should be supposed that the action was fought in an open country, at the foot of certain hills, not in a little plain amidst defiles, as the valleys about *Comerie* consist of. Pennant's *Tour*, 1772, part ii. p. 96. It is not the design

design of this note to decide between these two opposite opinions; but, upon due consideration, it may be found that Mr. Pennant's arguments are far from being conclusive. The place, however, for a fair investigation will be, when Tacitus draws up both armies in order of battle. We shall then be able to form a more exact idea of the spot; and, perhaps, we shall have reason to accede to Gordon's opinion. See sect. xxxv. and note (a).

(b) In the chronicle of the kings of Scotland, *Galgacus* is called *Galdus*; of which name, and its etymology, Gordon gives the following account:—*Galgacus* was latinised by the Romans from two Highland appellations, viz. *Gald* and *Cachach*; the first, *Gald*, being the proper name, and the second an adjection to it, from the battles he had fought; it signifies the same as *præliosus*; *Gald the fighter of battles*; which kind of nickname is still in use among the Highlanders. Thus the late Viscount *Dundee* was, by the Highlanders that followed him, called *John Dun-Nan-Cach*, *Black-haired John who fights the battles*: and in like manner John Duke of Argyle was known among the Highlanders by the name of *John Roy-Nan-Cach*, *Red-haired John who fights the battles*. Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 40. In the speech ascribed to this gallant chieftain, we have a striking picture of Roman oppression. The various arts of those ambitious conquerors, and the vices of their government in the several provinces of the empire, are painted forth in glaring colours. The art of compressing in pathetic language, with precision and energy, all the topics that can inspire the heart of man with a generous love of liberty, is here displayed in full perfection. It may indeed be doubted, whether *Galgacus* spoke what Tacitus has put into his mouth; but that he harangued his men is highly probable. In those days, no battle was fought without a speech from

from the general, to rouse and animate the valour of his army. We see the same custom among the ancient Germans, and we find it among the savages of America. In our times few or no speeches are made at the head of the line. The modern general has no occasion to be an orator: his artillery speaks for him. But since it is likely that *Galgacus* addressed his men, that probability is ground sufficient for the historian; and *Galgacus*, then upon the point of a decisive action, when all that was dear to him depended on the event, may be fairly allowed to have addressed his men in substance at least, if not in the manner here represented. The ferocity of a savage, whose bosom glowed with the love of liberty, gives warmth and spirit to the whole speech. Neither the Greek nor Roman page has any thing to compare with it. The critics have admired the speech of Porus to Alexander; but, excellent as it is, it shrinks and fades away before the Caledonian orator. Even the speech of Agricola, which follows immediately after it, is tame and feeble, when opposed to the ardour, the impetuosity, and the vehemence of the British chief. We see Tacitus exerting all his art to decorate the character of his father-in-law: but he had neither the same vein of sentiment, nor the same generous love of liberty, to support the cause of an ambitious conqueror. In the harangue of *Galgacus*, the pleasure of the reader springs from two principles: he admires the enthusiasm of the brave Caledonian, and at the same time applauds the noble historian, who draws up a charge against the tyranny of his own countrymen, and generously lifts on the side of liberty.

Section XXXI.

- (a) The Trinobantes, or the people of Essex, joined the
Icenians

Icenians in the grand revolt under Boadicea. See this Tract, sect. xvi. and *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 31.

(b) This passage has occasioned much controversy among the commentators ; but those gentlemen are often ingenious to no end but to perplex themselves. The text is susceptible of an easy and obvious construction ; and it is this : we have been hitherto unsubdued, and therefore we are not now to taste of liberty for the first time : we have always enjoyed our rights ; let us preserve them by our valour.

Section XXXII.

(a) In consequence of the military system of the Romans, the soldiers remained in a state of celibacy. Dio tells us, that the emperor Claudius, to relieve them from the strict severity of the laws, allowed them all the rights and privileges annexed to the married state. Severus owed the imperial dignity to the legions ; and, to mark his gratitude, gave them leave to marry, and, by that and other indulgences, relaxed, and well nigh ruined the discipline of the army. Before that time, a Roman camp had no place of accommodation for women. See, in Duncan's *Cæsar*, a dissertation on the Roman art of war. That the Germans and other barbarians were inflamed with uncommon ardour by their women in the field of battle, has appeared in various instances throughout the *Annals* and *History* of Tacitus.

(b) The conquered provinces furnished auxiliaries, and the legions were often recruited by levies raised in distant parts of the empire. Those soldiers were not interested in the cause of Rome : their native country was in different and remote places.

(c) The good sense, no less than the spirit, of the Caledonian warrior is seen in this remark. Livy has a similar passage. The plume and crest of the enemy can inflict no wound ; the Roman javelin can pierce the painted shield ; and the ranks of war, that display their glittering mantles, when attacked sword in hand, are soon discoloured with blood. *Non cristas vulnera facere, et per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum ; et candore tunicarum fulgentem aciem, ubi res ferro geratur, cruentari.* Livy, lib. x. f. 39.

(d) The Usipians were auxiliaries from Germany, engaged in the quarrels of Rome ; but not feeling themselves interested in the cause, they determined to return to their own country, and, with that design, committed themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves. See this Tract, f. 28.

Section XXXIII.

(a) There is here a small mistake, the error, perhaps, of the copyist ; as this, in fact, was Agricola's seventh campaign. In the speech that follows, the reader will see the colours of rhetoric employed, to flatter the soldier's pride, and decorate the lust of dominion with specious and seducing appearances.

(b) Under all former commanders, the scene of action was in that part of Britain called England. Statius, indeed, using his poetical licence, carries Bolanus as far as *Thulé*, and crowns his hero with laurels in the Highlands of Scotland. See sect. viii. note (a), and xvi. note (e). But Agricola was the first Roman general that carried his victorious arms into Caledonia, and reduced that whole country as far as the Firth of *Tay*.

(c) Livy has a similar sentiment. The soldiers, he says, fixed their eyes on their arms and the swords in their hands, which they considered as their only hope. *Arma tantum ferrumque in dextris, velut solas reliquias spei suæ, intuentes.* Lib. v. f. 42.

Section XXXIV.

(a) An account of this attack, in which the legion, if Agricola had not arrived in time, would probably have been cut to pieces, is given in this Tract, sect. xxvi.

(b) Aulus Plautius undertook his expedition into Britain, A. U. C. 796. From that time to the battle now impending, one or two and forty years had elapsed: Agricola did not think an exact statement necessary; he was speaking to the passions, and, therefore, used an oratorical amplification.

Section XXXV.

(a) We are now on the point of a great and decisive action. The motives that incite both armies have been displayed with energy. On one side, the liberty of a people is depending; on the other, the fate of the Roman army. The order, in which the combatants were drawn up, is now presented to us, but with the usual brevity of Tacitus. All this preparation keeps the reader in suspense, and fills the mind with expectation. As Britons we feel for our ancestors, and as scholars we are dazzled by the glory of the Roman name. We have now before us the preparation for the *swelling scene*. The main body of the Caledonians took post on the acclivity of the Grampian mount; their advanced lines stood at the foot of the hill, and the ranks rose
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one above another, in regular order, to the summit. The charioteers and horsemen advanced on the open plain, and rushed to and fro with wild velocity. On the side of the Romans, the order of battle was as follows:—Eight thousand auxiliaries formed the centre; the cavalry, amounting to three thousand, took post in the wings: the legions were stationed in the rear, near the entrenchments, to act as occasion required, as a body of reserve; and, that the enemy might not be able to make an impression on the flank, the front lines of the army were extended to a considerable length. Brotier, in his note on this passage, adds, that the spot where the battle was fought was in *Stratbearn*, near the *Kirk of Comerie*: for this he relies on the authority of Gordon. The camp, described in two divisions, one for the auxiliaries, and the other for the cavalry (see sect. xxix. note (a)), appears to him to be a circumstance of great weight, as indeed it must to every one who considers that the Romans seldom or never came to action till they had, in some convenient place, formed a camp, and thrown up their entrenchments, to secure their retreat. There were besides, as appears in Gordon's Itinerary, other camps in the adjacent country, from which Agricola drew together the main strength of his army. Mr. Pennant observes, that, according to Tacitus, the Caledonians were above thirty thousand strong, and could not act with effect in close and narrow defiles. See sect. xxix. note (a). But, as it should seem, the spot was chosen by Galgacus, with a view to draw the Romans into a contracted plain, and then pour down upon them from the high grounds, and the Grampian hill. On the other hand, Agricola, who is celebrated for skill in choosing his ground, might also prefer a place where thirty thousand men could not at once attack an inferior army. In this it appears that he succeeded. We are told, that the enormous swords of the Caledonians were

unfit for an engagement in a confined space; *in arcto pugnam non tolerabant*: and, afterwards when the charioteers rushed into the heat of the action, they were soon entangled among the inequalities of the ground; *inæqualibus locis hærebant*. The objection, therefore, to the narrowness of the field of battle, on which Mr. Pennant lays so much stress, seems to lose its force, when we find that the battle was actually fought in a place of no great extent, surrounded by a number of hills, besides the Grampian mountain, where the main body of the Caledonians lay in wait for an opportunity to rush down upon the Romans. As to the distance from the sea, which Mr. Pennant calls an insuperable argument, as Agricola sent forward his fleet to distract the enemy, it is by no means a decisive circumstance. In Agricola's sixth campaign (see sect. xxv.) Tacitus tells us, that the fleet and land-forces proceeded in sight of each other. In the present expedition, that is not said to have been the case. The Roman general might order his fleet to sail across the firths both of the *Tay* and the *Forth*, while he himself, at the head of his army, marched in quest of the enemy, then actually assembled at the Grampian hill. In case of a defeat, the ships were, perhaps, in the Firth of *Tay* to receive the flying army. Upon the whole, it appears, from all the circumstances of the battle, that the Caledonians, far from wishing to act in a wide-extended plain, chose a spot, where they were posted to advantage, on the hills. When at last they quitted their fastnesses, it is evident that they could not exert themselves with effect amidst the narrow defiles. Upon the whole, the controversy will not easily be decided: antiquarians are seldom willing to agree, and the Grampian hill is likely to continue a subject of contention. The reader, who promises himself either pleasure or instruction from the enquiry, will do well to peruse the arguments of Gordon and Mr. Pennant, as

• stated

stated by themselves. He will then be able to draw his own conclusion.

(b) From this passage it is evident, that while the Caledonians kept their post on the Grampian hill, and the adjacent heights, the plain was wide enough for the charioteers and cavalry; but, in the heat of the engagement, they were drawn into narrow passes, where they could no longer act with vigour.

Section XXXVI.

(a) These targets, in Latin *cetræ*, were made of oziers, or boards, covered over with leather. The Caledonians, who fought on this occasion, left the fashion of their armour, as well as an example of courage, to late posterity. The broad sword and target are well known to have been, in modern times, the peculiar arms of the Highlanders.

(b) The Batavians, after their revolt under Civilis, which ended A. U. C. 823, A. D. 70 (see *Hist.* b. v. f. 26), renewed their ancient friendship with the Romans. Several inscriptions on altars, having *Cohors prima Batavorum* engraved on them, have been dug up in the north of England. Several others, commemorating the Tungrian cohorts, have been found, as may be seen in Gordon's Itinerary.

(c) Brotier observes, from Vegetius, b. i. f. 12, that the Britons fought with the edge of their sword, and cut and hewed the enemy. The Romans, on the contrary, made use of the point, and, in close engagement, had greatly the advantage.

(d) The British warrior in his chariot is here called *Covinnarius*,

narius, the driver of a *covinus*. It has been already mentioned, that the chieftain, contrary to the practice of the Greeks, thought it a point of honour to guide the car, while other combatants from the same vehicle annoyed the enemy. See this Tract, f. xii. note (a). Some of the critics will have it, that the word *covinus* must have been coined by Tacitus, since it is not to be found in any other Latin writer: but they forget that Lucan has used it, and he wrote his *Pharsalia* before Tacitus was grown up to man's estate:

Et docilis rector monstrati Belga COVINI.

PHARS. lib. i. ver. 426.

The name used by Cæsar for the Britons warlike chariot is *ESSEDA*. Their way of fighting in those vehicles, he tells us, is as follows:—They first drive round all parts of the lines, throwing their darts, and, by the very terror of their horses, and the rattling of their wheels, disordering the ranks of the enemy. When they have forced their way into the thick of the cavalry, they leap from their chariots, and fight on foot. Meanwhile the drivers retire a little way from the combat, and place themselves in such a manner as to favour the retreat of their comrades, should they be overpowered by the enemy. Thus they perform the part of nimble horsemen, and stable infantry. By continual exercise they have arrived at such expertness, that in the most steep and difficult places, they can stop their horses at full stretch, turn them which way they please, run along the pole, rest on the harness, and with incredible agility recover their seat in the chariot. *Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. f. 33. Duncan's *Cæsar*, b. iv. f. 29.

Section XXXVII.

(a) Longinus has observed, that banishing copulatives is a
great

great help to the grandeur of a sentence : when conjunctions are artfully discarded, the periods are poured along in such a manner that they seem to outstrip the thought of the speaker. He cites a passage in Xenophon as an example : closing their shields together, they were pushed, they fought, they flew, they were slain. In describing the rout of Catiline's army, Sallust says, they fled, they were followed, they were killed, they were taken—*Sequi, fugere, occidi, capi*. Tacitus saw the hurry, the force, the rapidity of the disjointed words in Sallust, and thought the passage worthy of imitation. Voltaire has endeavoured to shew the wild disorder of a battle in the same manner :

Français, Anglais, Lorrains, que la fureur assemble,
 Avançaient, combattaient, frappaient, mouraient ensemble.

HENRIADE, Chant 6.

(b) Aulus Atticus was probably the præfect of a Tungrian cohort. An altar dedicated to the god *Mars*, by Quintus Florius Maternus, præfect of a Tungrian cohort, has been dug up in Scotland. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 76.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) This picture of rage and despair, of tenderness, fury, and the tumult of contending passions, has all the fine touches of a master who had studied human nature. It often happens, that, in the last extremity of despair, the mind is fired with sudden courage. Rather than fall with tame resignation, it rouses all its force, and, by one vigorous effort, endeavours to signalize itself even in ruin. Tacitus has said in another place, *Desperatione in audaciam accinguntur*. The Cimbrian women, when they saw their husbands defeated by Marius, acted with
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the most savage ferocity, and in their fury destroyed their own children. See the *Manners of the Germans*, sect. xxxvii.

(b) The Horestians are said, by some of the commentators, to have inhabited the country now called *Angus*, on the north side of the *Tay*. Gordon, in his *Itinerary*, says that Agricola, after his victory, led back his army into the country of the *Horestii*, or *Angus*; for, as it is certain that Agricola, in the third year of his expedition, had been there before, so it is natural to think he led his army to the place where his fleet was, which most probably was in the Firth of *Tay*. *Itinerary*, p. 40. But in this there seems to be some mistake. We are expressly told by Tacitus, that Agricola, in his third campaign, penetrated as far as the Firth of *Tay*: *Vastatis usque ad Taum (æstuario nomen est) nationibus*. Not a word is said of his proceeding farther. He erected forts and castles to bridle the natives during the winter, and the business of his fourth campaign was to secure what he had over-run in the preceding summer. In the sixth summer, when all the northern Caledonians were in motion, it was the opinion of the principal officers that the most advisable measure would be to repass the Forth. Hence it is clear that Agricola was then in *Fifehire*, and not in *Angus*; otherwise, to repass the *Tay* would have been the advice. After the victory at the *Grampian Hill*, Agricola led back his army, and that was most probably into *Fifehire*, where camps and forts had been erected. For these reasons it may be assumed, that the *Horestii* were the people of *Fifehire*.

(c) This circumnavigation is not related with sufficient accuracy. Agricola heard of the bold adventure of the Usipians (see sect. xxviii.), and resolved to gain farther information; but
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the place, from which his fleet set out on the voyage, is not mentioned. It was, beyond all doubt, from the *Forth* or the *Tay*. Being with his army in *Fife*, he could there, with all convenience, issue his orders. The expedition being begun, he proceeded by slow marches towards the southern parts of Caledonia, and led his army into winter quarters.

(d) The fleet, in the mean time, sailed round the extremity of the island, and, having pursued the voyage along the western coast, and through the British Channel, arrived at *Sandwich*, called in the text *Portus Trutulensis*, probably by an error of the copyists, as the real name is *Rutupensis*, or *Rutupinus*. So it is called by Ptolemy. Juvenal has

—————Rutupinove edita fundo
Ostrea—————

Sat. iv. ver. 141.

This voyage, which ascertained that Britain is an island, was in a contrary direction to that of the Usipian deserters. The fleet set out from the *Forth* or *Tay* on the eastern coast, and, sailing thence round the northern, western, and southern coasts, arrived at the port of *Sandwich* in *Kent*, and, proceeding along the eastern side of the island, returned without loss to its former station.

Section XXXIX.

(a) While Agricola was thus employed in extending the limits of the empire, and securing his conquests, as far as the neck of land between the *Forth* and the *Clyde*, by a chain of forts and garrisons, Domitian (A. U. C. 837, A. D. 84) went on his mock expedition into Germany, and returned without seeing

the face of an enemy. Caligula had left him the precedent of a victory without a foe to conquer. In imitation of that brilliant example, Domitian purchased a number of slaves, whom he ordered to let their hair grow, and tinge it with yellow, that they might pass for German prisoners of war. See the account of Caligula in Suetonius, f. 47. See this Tract, sect. xiii. and note (c).

(b) Pliny, in his Panegyric on Trajan, has given a striking picture of Domitian in his dark retreat. That savage beast was shut up as it were in a den, where he quaffed the blood of his relations; and when he came forth, it was to riot in the destruction of the best and most illustrious citizens. Dismay and terror obstructed his door; and they, who were excluded, were as much in danger as those that gained admittance. The tyrant was horrible to the sight, and his approach was dreadful: pride in his aspect; anger in his eye; a feminine whiteness over his whole body; and in his countenance an air of arrogance, flushed with the deepest red. No man dared to approach him; none could speak to him; he remained in darkness brooding mischief, and never came forth from his solitude, but to make a worse solitude by the destruction of eminent men. *Illa immanissima bellua, velut quodam specu inclusa, nunc propinquorum sanguinem lamberet; nunc se ad clarissimorum civium strages cædesque proferret. Obversabantur foribus horror et minæ, et par metus admissis et exclusis. Ad hoc ipse occursum quoque visuque terribilis: superbia in fronte, ira in oculis, fæmineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa. Non adire quisquam, non alloqui audebat, tenebras semper secretumque captantem; nec unquam ex solitudine suâ prodeuntem, nisi ut solitudinem faceret. Panegyri. Traj. sect. xlviii.* In the beginning of his reign his love of solitude was rather more innocent;

cent ; but still it was a prelude to future cruelty. He passed an hour every day in private, wholly employed in catching flies, and fixing them on the sharp point of a bodkin. Hence, when somebody enquired, *whether any one was with the emperor*, Vibius Crispus aptly and pleasantly answered, *Not so much as a fly*. *Ut cuidam interroganti*, ESSETNE QUISQUAM INTUS CUM CÆSARE, *non absurde responsum sit a Vibio Crispo*, NE MUSCA QUIDEM. Suetonius, in *Domitiano*, sect. iii.

Section XL.

(a) A real triumph, after the downfall of the republic, was reserved for the emperor only. The title of IMPERATOR was assumed by the prince. At first it meant no more than GENERAL IN CHIEF ; but, as all power was centred in him, the word, in process of time, implied what is now understood by the appellation of EMPEROR. Augustus Cæsar was not in haste to arrogate to himself the sole right of enjoying the honour of a triumph : with the address of an able politician, he resolved to make it of little value, and, for that purpose, he granted a triumph to no less than thirty different persons. At length, in the year of Rome 740, that military reward was abolished altogether. Augustus was indebted for the opportunity to the art of Agrippa, who, by a complete victory over the people of Bosphorus, had reinstated Polemon on his throne, and refused the triumph, which was decreed by the senate. This was a stroke of courtly compliance with the wishes of his master. From that time, Dio says, the commanders of armies followed the example of Agrippa ; and no Roman, however eminent for his military talents, enjoyed any higher distinction than that of triumphal ornaments, which were, the general's splendid garment, a statue in the forum crowned with laurels, and other *insignia* formerly allowed in a real triumph.

The commanders of armies, after gaining a victory, ceased to address their letters to the senate. Like Agrippa, they were willing to pay their court to Augustus. They renounced their claim, and, in this manner, the pomp of a triumph became annexed to the imperial prerogative. See *Annals*, b. iv. f. 23; b. xv. f. 72; *Hist.* b. i. f. 79.

(b) The straits of *Dover*.

(c) Agricola resigned the command, A. U. C. 838, A. D. 85. The officer who succeeded him is supposed to be Sallustius Lucullus, of whom history has recorded nothing more than that he invented lances of a new form, and gave them the name of *Lucullean*. This gave umbrage to Domitian, and, for that reason, the tyrant ordered him to be put to death. Sueton. *Life of Domitian*, sect. x.

(d) La Bletterie observes that the modest deportment of Agricola calls to mind the character of Marshal Turenne, and this, he says, is not the only prominent feature, in which the two heroes resemble each other. In the funeral orations, commemorating the French general, many of those analogies are pointed out.

Section XLI.

(a) Among artful and insidious courtiers, those, who are lavish of praise, are often the most inveterate enemies. Tacitus, in another part of his work, gives the reason: under a bad prince, a great name is as dangerous as a bad one. *Nec minus periculum ex magnâ famâ, quam ex malâ*. Praise a man, in the presence of a tyrant, for his popular virtues, and his ruin is sure to

to follow. Virgil knew that praise, under a specious disguise, is an envenomed enemy.

Et si ultra placitum laudarit, bacchare frontem
Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.

PAST. vii. 27, 28.

Or if he blast my muse with envious praise,
Then fence my brows with amulets of bays;
Lest his ill arts, or his malicious tongue
Should poison, or bewitch my growing song.

DRYDEN'S VIRGIL.

The malignity with which praise is bestowed, in order to render an eminent character obnoxious to the prince, who lives in dread of superior virtue, has been the stratagem of ill-designing men in all ages. The emperor Julian, in a letter to his friend, says, that the insidious art of undermining by counterfeit praise is chiefly known in the palace of princes, where the politic courtier hates, while he commends; and stabs you with his panegyric beyond the malice of your most bitter enemies. *Conscii sumus invicem ambo, non uti nos eâ aulicâ dissimulatione, quam arbitror te hætenus expertum esse solum in dominantium regiâ; juxta quam LAUDANTES tali odio prosequuntur eos, quos celebrant, quale neque exercent infensissimi hostes.* See the emperor Julian's 12th Ep. to Basilus.

(b) These various disasters happened in the years of Rome 840 and 841. Oppius Sabinus, a man of consular rank, was defeated by the Dacians in Mæsia; the legions under him were put to the sword; the general's head was cut off, and exhibited on a pole, a public spectacle for the barbarians. In another engagement with the same enemy, Cornelius Fuscus met with a total defeat. In Germany and Pannonia various battles were fought

fought with doubtful success, and great effusion of Roman blood. Suetonius has recorded these events, but in his usual style, content with a dry statement of facts. See the Life of Domitian, sect. vi.

(c) The Rhine and the Danube were, at this time, the boundaries that divided Germany from the Roman empire.

Section XLII.

(a) In the several provinces which were left by Augustus under the management of the senate, the governors, according to ancient usage, were changed at the end of the year. The senators, who had five years before discharged the office either of consul or prætor, had a right to be candidates for the employment. The senate named a competent number, and the persons so elected drew lots for their provinces; and, whether consuls or prætors, they were, without distinction, called by the general title of proconsular governors.

(b) We know nothing of Civica but what is here mentioned by Tacitus, and also by Suetonius, who informs us, that his name was Civica Cerealis, a man of consular rank, and governor of Asia. Domitian charged him with a conspiracy against the state, and under that pretence put him to death. Suetonius, *Life of Domitian*, sect. x.

(c) Under the worst of the emperors, men were obliged, by a refinement in tyranny, to receive injuries, and to be grateful for them. Tacitus mentions several persons, who were injured in their rights, and yet, being inured to slavery, they returned thanks to Vitellius. *Actæque insuper Vitellio gratiæ, consuetudine servitii.*

fervitii. *Hist.* lib. ii. f. 71. Otway has made *Chamont* express himself on this subject with a spirit of indignation.

I have not flavish temperance enough,
To wait a great man's heels, and watch his smiles;
Bear an ill office done me to my face,
And thank the lord that wrong'd me for his favour.

The abject spirit, with which men submitted to the tyranny of Caligula, is emphatically described by Seneca. That emperor, he says, received thanks from those whose children he put to death, or whose property he confiscated. *Agebant gratias et quorum liberi occisi, et quorum bona ablata erant. De Tranquill. Animi*, sect. xiv.. The same author relates the answer of an old courtier, when he was asked how he arrived at a thing so uncommon among the attendants of princes as a sound old age? It was, replied the veteran, by receiving injuries, and returning thanks. *Notissima vox est ejus, qui in cultu regum consenuerat, cum illum quidam interrogaret, quomodo rarissimam rem in aulâ consecutus esset, senectutem? Injurias, inquit, accipiendo, et gratias agendo. De Irâ*, lib. ii. sect. 3. In opposition to this servile spirit, Lipsius, in a strain of rapture, offers up his adoration to Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio, for the magnanimity with which they braved the tyrant's cruelty. *Sed vos magnæ animæ mihi salvete! quos jure miramur, colimus, factis dictisque sapientes, et legitimos robustæ porticus alumnos.*

(d) In the time of the old republic, the governors of provinces served their country without any salary annexed to their office. It was seen, however, by Augustus, that, by an unprofitable and gratuitous service, men were exposed to various temptations; and, accordingly, that emperor, to leave avarice and rapacity

city without an excuse, established a regular allowance for each different province. The governors appointed by the senate were paid out of the *ærarium*, or public treasury; and the emperor defrayed the charge of the administration in the imperial provinces, out of the *fiscus*, or his own private coffers. If, for good and sufficient reason, a citizen of eminence chose to decline the fatigue of a proconsular government, it was usual, on accepting his resignation, to allow him the income of his office. The etymology of the word salary is ingeniously explained by the elder Pliny. Human nature, he says, cannot exist without salt, which is so much an element of life, that, passing from bodily sensation, it is now become a metaphorical term for the pleasures of the mind. Salt is agreeable to the palate, and is, therefore, transferred to the mental taste. By that name we call whatever is pleasing to our intellectual faculties; whatever is poignant, gay, lively, or agreeable. The word is still more extensive: it is used to signify civil honours; and the pay of officers, and the governors of provinces, is called their SALARY. *Ita herculè vita humanior sine sale nequit degere; adeoque necessarium elementum est, ut transferit ad voluptates animi quoque. Nam ita sales appellantur; omnisque vitæ lepos, et summa hilaritas, laborumque requies non alio magis vocabulo constat. Honoribus etiam militiæque interponitur, SALARIIS inde dictis.* Plin. lib. xxxi. f. 7.

(e) Seneca has the same sentiment, and Tacitus seems to have adopted the very words. *Hoc habent pessimum animi magnâ fortunâ insolentes: quos læserunt, et oderunt.* De Irâ, lib. ii. f. 33.

(f) Hatred is always a dark, a covered, and a lurking passion; the more concealed, the more implacable: so it was with Domitian;

tian, and we have seen the same feature of character in Tiberius. In a sudden transport of passion he broke out against Haterius; but, harbouring deep resentment against Scaurus, he let him pass in sullen silence. *Annals*, b. i. f. 13. And again, he laid up the seeds of resentment, which were to grow to maturity, and shoot forth with large increase at a future day. *Odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret.* *Annals*, b. i. f. 69.

Section XLIII.

(a) A Greek epigram, written by Antiphilus of Byzantium, to the memory of a person of the name of Agricola, is still extant. The learned refer it to the great man who is the subject of the present work. The poet addresses himself to the fountains, and desires to know, what has dried up their waters? The answer is, We have wept for Agricola; and the stream, which before was limpid, is now absorbed by his ashes.

Κρηναῖαι λιβάδες, τι πεφεύγατε; πᾶν τὸσον ὕδωρ;
 Τίς φλόξ ἀενάως ἔσβεσεν ἀελίᾱ;
 Δάκρυσιν Ἀγρικόλα τετρίμμεθα; πᾶν δ' ὅσον ἡμῖν
 Ἦν ποτὲ, ἡ κείνῃ διψᾶς ἔχει σποδίῃ. ANTHOLOGIA, lib. i. tit. 37.

Grotius and La Bletterie have given their versions of this little poem. It may be some amusement to compare them, and therefore, without apology, both shall have their place.

Quo, fontis latices, quo copia vestra recessit?
 Perpetuas solis quis calor hausit aquas?
 Agricolæ luctu confumitur: illius, ante
 Humida, nunc fiunt pulverulenta, siti. GROTIUS.

Fontani latices, quo pristina copia cessit?
 Dicite, quis liquidas sol populavit opes?
 Agricolam flendo defecimus, et quod aquarum
 Hic erat, extincti nunc habet omne cinis. LA BLETTERIE.

(b) From the manner in which Tacitus states this charge, it may be inferred that he gave no credit to it; and yet Dio does not hesitate to confirm the story. Suetonius is silent on the subject. But the Greek historian is often bold in assertion, and frequently deficient in point of truth, or historical evidence. If we believe him, Agricola, after his return from the conquest of Britain, passed the remainder of his days in distress and poverty: but Tacitus, on the contrary, assures us, that, though he did not possess immoderate wealth, he enjoyed a decent affluence. The Roman historian had the best means of information.

Section XLIV.

(a) There seems, in this place, to be some mistake, not, however, imputable to Tacitus, but, more probably, to the transcribers, who in their manuscript might easily write LVI. instead of LIV. Caligula's third consulship was A. U. C. 793, A. D. 40. Agricola was born on the 13th of June in that year: he died on the 10th of the calends of September, that is the 23d of August, in the consulship of Pompeius Collega and Cornelius Priscus, A. U. C. 846, A. D. 93. According to this account, Agricola, on the 13th of June, A. U. 846, entered on the fifty-fourth year of his age, and died in the month of August following. It is, therefore, probable, that the copyists, as already observed, inserted in their manuscript FIFTY-SIX for FIFTY-FOUR. This supposition admitted, Tacitus, who, in a matter of near concern, was not likely to be guilty of an error in his calculation, may be rightly understood, and the commentators will be freed from all their difficulties. The character that follows is a miniature picture by a masterly hand. Cornelius Nepos has a passage not unlike what is said of Agricola: When strangers beheld Agesilaus, they were tempted to despise him; but those, who

who were acquainted with his virtues, thought they could never admire him enough. *Ignoti faciem ejus cum intuerentur, contemnebant. Qui autem virtutem noverant, non poterant admirari satis.* The difference is, Agricola was not despised by strangers; he had all the exteriors of a good man: but they who expected to find a form and stature adequate to his fame in arms, were disappointed, though willing to believe him a great, as well as a good man. The same thing happened to Alexander: Thalestris surveyed him with an undaunted countenance, thinking his figure by no means proportioned to his wide extended fame. *Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum ejus baudquam rerum famæ parem oculis perlustrans.* The historian gives the reason: Barbarians judge of men by their outward appearance, and think none capable of great exploits, but those whom nature has distinguished by the graces and the dignity of their figure. *Quippe hominibus barbaris ex corporum majestate veneratio est, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia specie natura dignata est.* Quintus Curtius, lib. vi. f. 13.

(b) From the passage before us there is reason to conclude, that this Tract was published, when Trajan was in possession of the imperial dignity. See the Introduction to these Notes.

(c) Seneca gives the same account of Caligula; a man who meditated the destruction of the whole senate; who wished that the Roman people had but one neck, that he might glut his love of blood at a single stroke. *Homo qui de toto senatu trucidando cogitabat; qui optabat, ut populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet, ut scelera sua tot locis ac temporibus diducta, in unum ictum et unam diem cogeret.* De Irâ, lib. iii. f. 19. On the subject of Domitian's cruelty, Juvenal breaks out with his usual indignation.

He represents the emperor, at a cabinet council in his Alban villa, debating with his courtiers how an immense turbot was to be dressed. The poet concludes with wishing that the emperor had passed his days in that despicable manner, not in the slaughter of the best men in Rome.

Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
Tempora sævitæ, claras quibus abstulit urbi
Illustresque animas impunè, et vindice nullo :
Sed perit, postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
Cœperat : hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti.

SAT. iv. ver. 150.

What folly this ! but, oh that all the rest
Of his dire reign had thus been spent in jest ;
And all that time such trifles had employed,
In which so many nobles he destroyed !
He safe, they unreveng'd, to the disgrace
Of the surviving, tame, patrician race.
But when he dreadful to the rabble grew,
Him, who so many lords had slain, they slew.

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Section XLV.

(a) In a short time after the death of Agricola, towards the end of the year of Rome 846, the rage of Domitian broke out with collected violence, and like a tempest swept away numbers of both sexes, all distinguished by their virtues no less than by their illustrious rank. The senate-house was surrounded by the prætorian guards, the fathers sat amidst swords and javelins, and the will of the tyrant was a law. See this Tract, sect. ii. note (b). Suetonius, in the Life of Domitian, sect. x. says, that many of the senate fell a sacrifice, and among them several of consular rank. We find in the list Sallustius Lucullus, who has been mentioned

mentioned in note (c), sect. xl. ; and Cerealis Civica, for whom see sect. xlii. and note (b). Salvidienus Orfitus was sent into exile, and there put to death by order of Domitian. Acilius Glabrio suffered for an extraordinary reason. In the year of his consulship, the emperor, without any respect for the dignity of a man then actually exercising the functions of the first office in the state, ordered him to enter the list in the public spectacles, and fight a lion for the diversion of the populace. The consul had the address to kill the ferocious beast ; but, as he, who could conquer a lion, might slay a tyrant, he was banished, and put to death. Ælius Lamia, a man descended from an illustrious family, perished, as Suetonius informs us, on account of some innocent strokes of wit and pleasantry, that fell from him before Domitian obtained the sovereignty ; *ob suspiciosos quidem, verum veteres, et innoxios jocos*. Salvinus Cocceianus was nephew to Otho. When that emperor saw his affairs ruined, and was resolved to end his days, his advice to his nephew was, Remember that Otho was your uncle ; but do not remember it too much. *Ne patrum sibi Othonem fuisse aut oblivisceretur unquam, aut nimium meminisset*. *Hist.* lib. ii. f. 48. Under a tyrant like Domitian, to seem to forget would have been true policy ; but the nephew celebrated the birth-day of his uncle, and that was a state-crime. Metius Pomposianus had procured geographical charts of all the nations then known, and carried about him the speeches of kings and generals, extracted from Livy. For this conduct he was banished to an island, and there destroyed. Herennius Senecio, for the praise of Helvidius Priscus, and Arulenus Rusticus, for that of Pætus Thrasea, were victims to the insatiate cruelty of the tyrant. See this Tract, f. ii. and notes (a) and (b). Besides others of inferior note, Flavius Clemens, a near relation of the emperor, and jointly consul with him, A. U. C. 848, A. D. 95,

was:

was condemned, though a man, as Suetonius has it, contemptible for his sluggish indolence; *contemptissimæ inertiae*. Dio assigns the reason: he was accused of atheism, like many others who had embraced the Jewish religion. In the Pagan style of that age, the double charge of atheism and Judaism implied that Clemens renounced the gods of Rome for the Christian religion. In this general massacre the female sex did not escape. Arria, the widow of Pætus Thrasea; Fannia, the widow of Helvidius Priscus; and Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Flavius Clemens, were driven into banishment. That Agricola did not live to see the calamities of his country, was some consolation to Tacitus, who, it should seem, had his eye on a fine passage, in which Cicero makes a similar reflection on the death of Crassus, the celebrated orator. His death, he says, was a sore affliction to his family, a wound to the commonwealth, and matter of grief to all good men. But the times that followed were such, that his death may be called a blessing sent down by the special favour of the gods. He did not live to see Italy involved in a general war; the senate rent and torn by factions; the first men in the state perpetrating the worst of crimes; his daughter left disconsolate; her husband driven into exile; the flight of Marius, his return to Rome, and the slaughter that followed. *Fuit hoc luctuosum suis, acerbum patriæ, grave bonis omnibus. Sed ii tamen rempublicam casus secuti sunt, ut mihi non erepta Lucio Crasso a diis immortalibus vita, sed donata mors esse videatur. Non vidit flagrantem bello Italiam, non ardentem invidiâ senatum, non sceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos, non luctum filiae, non exilium generi, non acerbissimam Caii Marii fugam, non illam post reditum ejus cadem omnium crudelissimam.* Cicero *De Oratore*, lib. iii. f. 8.

(b) Metius Carus was one of the tribe of informers: it was he

he that conducted the prosecution against Senecio ; see this Tract, sect. ii. note (b). Pliny, the consul, has preserved this man for the execration of posterity. He tells us, that, when Regulus, another notorious prosecutor, inveighed in open court against the memory of Senecio, this fellow had the impudence to stand up, and demand of Regulus, *What have you to do with my dead men ? Do I disturb the ashes of Crassus or Camerinus, whom you accused in Nero's reign ? Lacerat Herennium Senecionem tam intemperanter, ut dixerit ei Metius Carus, Quid tibi cum meis mortuis ? Numquid ego aut Crasso aut Camerino molestus sum ?* Plin. lib. i. epist. 5. Carus has not escaped the indignation of Juvenal :

Causidici nova cum veniat lectica MATHONIS,
Plena ipso ; et post hunc magni delator amici,
Et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa,
Quod superest : quem MASSA timet, quem munere palpat
CARUS. JUV. SAT. i. ver. 32.

When pleading Matho, borne abroad for air,
With his fat paunch fills his new-fashion'd chair ;
And after him the wretch, in pomp convey'd,
Whose evidence his noble friend betray'd ;
Whom Massa calls the terror of the age,
And even CARUS bribes away his rage.

During the life of Agricola, we are told by Tacitus that METIUS CARUS had gained but one victory. It seems, however, that he continued to flourish in his iniquity till the reign of Nerva, when the virtue of that emperor reformed all abuses, and, by a just and wise administration, established the peace and good order of society.

(c) The exact name of this man was Catullus Messalinus. Pliny the younger has given his portrait. He says, that Nerva, the

the emperor, gave a supper to a select number of friends, and that VEIENTO (an informer in Domitian's time) was admitted to be one of the party. The discourse turned upon CATULLUS MESSALINUS, who, being blind, added to that misfortune a cruel disposition. He was void of fear, of shame, and pity, and therefore Domitian made use of him as one of his instruments against every man of worth. All who were at table talked of the sanguinary counsels of this abandoned wretch: Nerva asked, *What think you would be his case, were he now alive?* Mauricus (looking at Veiento) replied, *He would sup with us. Cœnabat Nerva cum paucis: Veiento proximus, atque etiam in sinu recumbat. Dixi omnia, cum hominem nominavi. Incidit sermo de CATULLO MESSALINO, qui luminibus orbatus, ingenio sævo mala cæcitatatis addiderat. Non verebatur, non erubescibat, non miserebatur. Sæpius a Domitiano non secus ac tela, quæ et ipsa cæca et improvida feruntur, in optimum quicumque contorquebatur. De hujus nequitia, sanguinariisque sententiis in commune omnes super cœnam loquebantur. Tum ipse imperator, QUID PUTAMUS PASSURUM FUISSE, SI VIVERET? Et Mauricus, NOBISCUM COENARET.* Lib. iv. ep. 22. Juvenal has embalmed this man for posterity. He describes him as one of Domitian's council, sitting in deep debate on the important subject of the prodigious turbot which had been presented to the emperor. Though blind, his admiration of the fish rose to ecstacy: he turned to the left, when it lay on his right, and gave his advice with the solemn wisdom of a privy counsellor.

Et cum mortifero veniens Veiento CATULLO,
 Qui nunquam visæ flagrabat amore puellæ,
 Grande, et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
 Cæcus adulator dirusque a ponte fatelles,
 Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes,
 Blandaue devexæ jactaret basia rhedæ.

JUVEN. SAT. iv.

Cunning

Cunning Veiento next, and by his side
 Bloody CATULLUS leaning on his guide;
 Decrepid, yet a furious lover he,
 And deeply smit with charms he could not see:
 A monster, that even this worst age outvies,
 Conspicuous, and above the common size;
 A blind, base flatt'rer, from some bridge or gate
 Rais'd to a murd'ring minister of state;
 Deserving still to beg upon the road,
 And bless each passing waggon, and its load.

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

The place, where CATULLUS MESSALINUS attended Domitian in council, was a castle near the ancient Alba (now *Albano*), about twelve miles from Rome. Juvenal says,

—————Albanam dux magnus in arcem
 Traxerat attonitos.—————

It was in that retreat that Messalinus, at first, gave his advice: he was afterwards heard in the senate.

(*d*) Bæbius Massa took up the trade of an informer, and rose to eminence in guilt; but, at the time of Agricola's death, he was under a prosecution for rapine and extortion in the province of Bætica in Spain. Pliny the younger and his friend Herennius Senecio were appointed by the senate to conduct the cause in behalf of the province. Massa was found guilty, and his goods were ordered to be secured. It appeared soon after that the consuls were willing to listen to petitions on the part of Massa. Senecio was alarmed. He suspected an intended embezzlement of the culprit's effects, and, to prevent it, desired Pliny to join him in an application to the consuls. Pliny complied: they both attended the consuls. When they had urged

all that was proper on the occasion, Massa thought himself aggrieved by the supererogatory zeal of Senecio, and, to revenge himself, joined in the clamour against Senecio for writing the panegyric of Helvidius Priscus. Pliny relates the transaction to his friend Tacitus in the following manner : *Dederat me Senatus cum Herennio Senecione advocatum provinciæ Bæticiæ contra Bæbium Massam ; damnatoque Massâ, censuerat ut bona ejus publicè custodirentur. Senecio, cum explorasset consules postulationibus vacaturos, convenit me, et quâ concordia, inquit, injunctam nobis accusationem executi sumus, hac adeamus consules, petamusque ne bona dissipari sinant, quorum esse in custodia debent. Tum ego, si fixum tibi istud ac deliberatum, sequar te, ut si quæ ex hoc invidia, non tua tantum sit. Venimus ad consules : dicit Senecio, quæ res ferebat : aliqua subjungo. Vixdum conticueramus, et Massa, questus Senecionem non advocati fidem sed inimici amaritudinem impleisse, impietatis reum postulat.* Pliny, lib. vii. epist. 33. It was the wish of Pliny to have the facts inserted in the History of Domitian, which Tacitus was probably writing ; but the work is lost, and Domitian has escaped the vengeance of history. See in this Tract, sect. ii. note (b). Tacitus says that Massa was a pernicious enemy to all good men, and the cause of many calamities, with which the public was sorely grieved. *Hist. b. iv. c. 50.* Martial says of Hermogenes, a fellow that pilfered wherever he was admitted, that he did not steal more napkins, than Massa did pieces of gold.

Hermogenes tantus mapparum, Pontice, fur est,
Quantus nummorum vix, puto, Massa fuit.

Lib. xii. epig. 29.

(e) The reader is not to imagine that this relates to Helvidius Priscus, who was banished, and murdered in exile, under the

the emperor Vespasian. See this Tract, sect. ii. note (*b*). If the apology, which Suetonius (in Vespas. f. 15) makes for the conduct of Vespasian, be founded in truth, it is happy for the memory of the emperor: if otherwise, Vespasian, by his dissimulation, paid a compliment to virtue. Elizabeth played the same card in the execution of Queen Mary. The Helvidius mentioned in this place by Tacitus, was the son of the great and good man, so often celebrated by Tacitus. See his character, *Hist.* b. iv. f. 5. See also this Tract, sect. ii. note (*b*). Suetonius says, Domitian destroyed Helvidius the son, because, in a dramatic piece, called PARIS and OENONE, he threw out a sarcastic reflection on the divorce of the emperor. Sueton. *in Domit.* f. 10. Publicius Certus was the person, who undertook the accusation of Helvidius the son, in the reign of Domitian, A. U. C. 847, A. D. 94. Pliny the younger relates the proceeding with indignation. He says a great friendship subsisted between him and Helvidius, the son; as great as he could cultivate with a person, who, in dread of those dangerous times, endeavoured, by living in obscurity and retirement, to conceal his excellent character, and no less remarkable virtues. And, besides, among the many flagitious acts of those deplorable times, nothing appeared to him more atrocious, than that a senator, in the senate, should lay hands upon a senator; a prætor, upon a man of consular dignity; a judge, upon a person accused. *Porro inter multa scelera multorum, nullum atrocius videbatur, quam quod in senatu, senator senatori, prætorius consulari, reo judex manus intulisset.* Lib. ix. ep. 13. This explains what Tacitus means, when he says, *our own hands led Helvidius to prison.* As the fathers suffered this indignity, Tacitus (who was himself a senator) oratorically says the whole order did it; our hands dragged him to prison. It will be proper to add, that Pliny, as

soon as Domitian was put to death, determined to revenge the cause of his injured friend. With that intent, in the very beginning of Nerva's reign, he entered the senate, and there brought forward his charge against Publicius Certus. The whole assembly was thrown into an uproar, and Pliny was, for some time, prevented from pursuing the thread of his speech. In the modern phrase, he was *called to order* by the consul. When it came regularly to his turn, he renewed the charge, and, by his eloquence, wrought such a wonderful change of sentiment in the minds of the fathers, that he carried his point, which was to hinder Certus from enjoying the honour of the consulship, to which he then stood next in succession, for the year of Rome 851, A. D. 98. Pliny's accusation was in 97. The effect was answerable to the wish of the public-spirited orator; another consul was appointed in the room of CERTUS, who, in a short time after, was seized with his last illness, and died, according to the report of the time, crying out in his delirious fits, that he saw Pliny pursuing him sword in hand. See the whole account, b. ix. ep. 13.

(f) Mauricus and Arulenus Rusticus were brothers, united not only by the ties of natural affection, but by their manners and congenial virtues. They were cruelly separated in the sight of the senate, when Rusticus was hurried away to execution, and Mauricus ordered into banishment. An account of the former has been given, sect. ii. note (a). The latter was restored to his country in the beginning of Nerva's reign, as appears in Pliny, b. i. ep. 5, where his character is said to be that of a man of sound sense and judgment, formed by experience, and by his deep sagacity able from past events to weigh and measure the future. See his answer to Nerva, this sect. note (c).

(g) The

(g) The senate, amidst all these tragic issues, sat without voice or sentiment; a timid and speechless assembly, as Pliny has it, *Curia timida et elinguis*. They submitted, with passive obedience, to the tyrant's will; and therefore Tacitus says that their hands were imbrued in the blood of Senecio. See sect. ii. note (b).

(b) Domitian's complexion was of so deep a red, that nothing could add to his natural colour, and he was therefore said by Pliny to be a man of unblushing arrogance. See sect. xxxix. note (b). The critics have objected to Tacitus, that, in this place, he seems too fond of an antithesis: he places, they say, the settled crimson of a tyrant's countenance, which fortified him against all shame, in opposition to the pale sickly horror of wretches, who dreaded their final doom from his approach. But if (as we have seen, sect. xxix. note b) Pliny, who studied no contrast, thought the fact worth recording, by what law in Quintilian, or any other good judge of fine writing, was Tacitus to be precluded from an imitation of truth and nature? The fixed vermilion of the cheek was peculiar to Domitian: with other men, a sudden emotion of anger forces the blood into the face, and nature gives that unerring signal. Seneca has observed, that men are then chiefly terrible, when the face reddens, and shame has thrown out all its symptoms. Sylla was then most to be dreaded, when his blood rushed into his countenance. *Quidam, nunquam magis quam cum erubuerint, timendi sunt; quasi omnem verecundiam effuderint. Sylla tunc erat violentissimus, cum faciem ejus sanguis invaserat.* Seneca, ep. xi. This was not the case of Domitian: a settled ferocity glowed on his cheeks, and the men, who knew themselves marked out for destruction, trembled at his approach.

(i) Tacitus.

(i) Tacitus and his wife, at the time of Agricola's death, had been four years absent from Rome; on what account we are nowhere told. Some critics suppose, that he was banished by Domitian; but this seems to be without foundation. Lipsius is of opinion, that his retreat was voluntary, being a man incapable of beholding, with a passive spirit, the sufferings of his fellow-citizens, under a bloody and destructive tyrant. The whole of this passage, in which the author addresses himself to Agricola, is, perhaps, as beautiful, as pathetic, and as elegant an apostrophe, as can be found in Tully, or any of the most admired orators. When the author says, *in the last glimpse of light, you looked round with an asking eye for something that was absent*, NOVISSIMA IN LUCE DESIDERAVERE ALIQUID OCULI TUI, we feel the stroke of tenderness; we are transported in fancy to the bedside, and we love to gaze on the expiring hero. If Warburton, in the conclusion of the Essay on Man, could find the five sources of the sublime, we may, with better reason, say, this apostrophe contains them all. Brotier quotes a passage from the late King of Prussia's funeral oration on Prince Henry of Prussia, in which he finds either a fine imitation of Tacitus, or the sympathy of congenial minds. *O prince! qui saviez combien vous m'étiez cher; combien votre personne m'étoit précieuse; si la voix des vivans peut se faire entendre des morts, prêtez attention à une voix, qui ne vous fut pas inconnue; souffrez que ce fragile monument, le seul, hélas! que je puis ériger à votre mémoire, vous soit élevé.* See *Eloge du Prince Henri, par S. M. le Roi de Prusse.*

Section XLVI.

(a) Tacitus, in this place, speaks hypothetically, but with an apparent disposition to embrace the system of the best and wisest men, and, it may be added, the persuasion of mankind in every

every age and nation. That the soul of man is not extinguished with his animal life, but passes, in that awful moment, into some new region of existence, or transmigrates into some other being, has been, at all times, the opinion, or the conjecture, or the wish of the rudest and most savage tribes ; and this universal consent, Cicero observes in the first Tusculan, is the law of nature speaking in the human heart. *Omni autem in re consensus omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda est.* Men of study and deep speculation adopted what they saw rooted in the mass of the people ; and, having no better guide than the dim light of nature, they established their schools of philosophy, and taught their different systems. The Socratic and Platonic professors declared for the immortality of the soul, and some of their proofs are short of nothing but revelation. The Stoic sect did not embrace the doctrine in its full extent : according to their hypothesis, certain chosen spirits might have their existence prolonged in a future world, but not to eternity. They allowed us, says Cicero, the duration of a crow, admitting that the soul may exist hereafter, but not for ever. *Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur tamquam cornicibus ; diu mansuros aiunt animos ; semper negant.* First Tusculan, l. 32. It was reserved for Epicurus to deny the attributes of the supreme being, and to teach the gloomy doctrine of annihilation. That philosopher, however, did not long make head against the general sense of mankind. He gained some apostates ; but their writings have long since disappeared, and their tenets are now supported by the poetry of Lucretius only. Macrobius, in his remarks on the SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS of Cicero, has mentioned the triumph of a better and more moral doctrine. The immateriality, he says, as well as the immortality of the soul has gained the general assent. *Obtinuit non minus de incorporalitate animæ, quam de immortalitate sententia.* Cicero, in various parts of his works, maintained the same doctrine, and in

one

one admirable sentence seems to have compressed the whole force of the argument. That, he says, which feels, which thinks, which deliberates, and wills, is of heavenly origin, and, for that reason, must be immortal. *Quidquid est illud, quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vult, quod viget, cæleste et divinum est, ob eamque rem æternum sit necesse est.* But this doctrine, amidst the contentions of dogmatical sects, was far from being established; wise men embraced it. *Ut sapientibus placet*, says Tacitus, and he may be allowed to have embraced the most orthodox opinion. If the immortality of the soul was not a settled article of his creed, at a time when the light of revelation was not yet diffused over the Christian world, it is however probable, that he, who possessed a comprehensive and sublime understanding, was not content with the grovelling notion of falling into nothing, but aspired, and wished, and hoped to enjoy a future state of immortality. He was conscious of the dignity of human nature, and thence proceeded the fine address to the departed spirit of his father-in-law.

(b) The text is left by the copyists in a mangled condition. The words, as they stand, cannot be reduced to any kind of sense. *Admiratione te potius, temporalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppetet, MILITUM decoremus.* Lipsius and Grotius have contributed their assistance. The former reads, *Admiratione te potius, te temporalibus laudibus*; and (instead of *militum*, which is totally unintelligible) Grotius adds, *similitudine decoremus*. Out of the word *similitudine* a bad transcriber might make *militum*. La Bletterie thinks it might be *æmulatu*, and that conjecture has been adopted in the translation.

(c) Cicero has a sentiment analogous to what is here said by Tacitus. Servius Sulpicius could leave no monument equal to the portrait of his manners, his virtue, his constancy, and his talents, which still survived in his son. *Nullum monimentum clarius*
Servius

Servius Sulpicius relinquere potuerat, quam effigiem morum suorum virtutis, constantiæ, ingenii, filium. See the *Tenth Philippic*. Martial, in an elegant epigram, wishes that the painter's art could delineate the manners and the mind of his friend : that would make the best picture in the world.

Ars utinam mores animumque effingere posset ;
Pulchrior in terris nulla tabella foret. Lib. x. epig. 32.

(d) So we read in Horace :

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi ; sed omnes illachrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longâ
Noctæ, carent quia vate sacro. Lib. iv. ode 9.

Vain was the chief's, the sage's pride ;
They had no poet, and they died :
In vain they schem'd, in vain they bled ;
They had no poet, and are dead. POPE.

(e) Pliny, the consul, returned thanks to Tacitus for desiring an account of the elder Pliny's death, that he might transmit it with truth to posterity. His uncle, he says, if celebrated by such a writer, will be immortal. Pliny, b. vi. epist. 16. That part, however, of our author's works has not come down to us, and the prophecy has so far failed. The prediction of Tacitus is completely verified : Agricola is rendered immortal ; he lives in the historian's page, and will continue to do so, as long as men retain a taste for the best and truest model of biography.

END OF THE NOTES

ON THE

LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

N O T E S
ON
T H E D I A L O G U E
CONCERNING
O R A T O R Y.

N O T E S

ON

T H E D I A L O G U E

CONCERNING

O R A T O R Y.

THE scene of the following Dialogue is laid in the sixth year of Vespasian, A. U. C. 828, A. D. 75. The commentators are much divided in their opinions about the real author : his work they all agree is a masterpiece in the kind ; written with taste and judgment ; entertaining, profound, and elegant. But whether it is to be ascribed to Tacitus, Quintilian, or any other person, whom they cannot name, is a question upon which they have exhausted a store of learning. They have given us, according to their custom, much controversy, and little decision. In this field of conjecture Lipsius led the way. He published,
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in 1574, the first good edition of Tacitus, with judicious emendations of the text, and notes to illustrate every passage which he thought wanted explanation. He was, beyond all question, a man of genius and great erudition. He, and Casaubon, and Scaliger, were called the triumvirate of literature. Lipsius, however, stands distinguished by his taste, and his politeness. Commentators in general seem to think, as Doctor Bentley expressed it, that *they are riding to posterity upon the back of an ancient*; and being well mounted, they imagine that to prance, and shew all their paces, and dash through thick and thin, and bespatter all who come in their way, is the true dignity of a critic. Lipsius was not of this class: to great learning he united a fine taste, and polished manners. He thought for himself, and he decided with candour; never dogmatical, or presuming to dictate to others. He says expressly, *Dico me; nam aliis nihil præeo quod sequantur*. With regard to the present Dialogue, had it not come down to us in a mutilated state, he pronounces it in point of style, beauty of invention, and sound judgment, equal to the best models of antiquity. But who was the real author seems to him a problem not easy to be solved. He sees nothing of the manner peculiar to Tacitus: in the place of brevity, he finds diffusive periods, and the rich, the florid, and the amplified sentence, instead of the concise, the close and nervous. An author, he admits, may, by continued practice, acquire a cast of thought and expression not to be found in his early productions; but still he must retain some traces of his original manner. The age of Tacitus does not seem to him to correspond with the time, when the speakers in the Dialogue met to discuss the question. Tacitus, he says, was promoted by Vespasian, and from that circumstance he infers that he was not so young, as the writer of the Dialogue represents himself in the first section. He once thought

that Quintilian had the best claim, since that writer, in the introduction to the sixth book of his Institutes, says expressly that he published a treatise on the subject: *Librum, quem de causis corruptæ eloquentiæ emisi*: but, upon due reflection, Lipsius fairly owns, that Quintilian, in the sixth of Vespasian, was far from being a young man. He adds, whether it be ascribed to Tacitus, or Quintilian, no inconvenience can arise, since the tract itself is beautiful: but, as to himself, his doubts are not removed; he still remains in suspense. *Cum multa dixerim, claudo tamen omnia hoc responso*; MIHI NON LIQUERE. Gronovius, Pichena, Rycius, Rhenanus, and others, have entered warmly into the dispute. An elegant modern writer has hazarded a new conjecture. The last of Sir Thomas Fitzosborne's Letters is a kind of preface to Mr. Melmoth's Translation of the Dialogue before us. He says, of all the conversation-pieces, whether ancient or modern, either of the moral or polite kind, he knows not one more elegantly written than the little anonymous Dialogue concerning the rise and decline of eloquence among the Romans. He calls it anonymous, though he is aware, that it has been ascribed not only to Tacitus, and Quintilian, but even to Suetonius. The reasons, however, are so inconclusive, that he is inclined to give it to the younger Pliny. He thinks it perfectly coincides with Pliny's age; it is addressed to one of his particular friends, and is marked with similar expressions and sentiments. But, with all due submission to Mr. Melmoth, his new candidate cannot long hold us in suspense. It appears in the account of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in which Pliny's uncle lost his life, A. U. C. 832, A. D. 79, that Pliny was then eighteen years old, and, as the Dialogue was in 828, he could then be no more than fourteen; a time of life, when he was neither fit to be admitted to a learned debate, nor capable of understanding it. Besides this,

two.

two letters to his friend FABIVS are still extant; one in the first book, epist. 11; the other, book vii. epist. 2. No mention of the Dialogue occurs in either of those letters, nor in any other part of his works; a circumstance, which could scarce have happened to a writer so tenderly anxious about his literary character, if the work in question had been the production of his pen. Brotier, the last, and, it may be said, the best of all the editors of Tacitus, is of opinion that a tract, so beautiful and judicious, ought not, without better reasons than have been as yet assigned, to be adjudged from Tacitus to any other writer. He relies much on the first edition, which was published at Venice (1468), containing the six last books of the Annals (the six first not being then found), the five books of the History, and the Dialogue, intitled, *Cornelii Taciti Equitis Romani Dialogus de Oratoribus claris*. There were also, in the Vatican, manuscript copies of the Dialogue *de Oratoribus*. In 1515, when the six first Annals were found in Germany, a new edition, under the patronage of Leo X. was published by Beroaldus, carefully collated with the manuscript, which was afterwards placed in the Florentine Library. Those early authorities preponderate with Brotier against all modern conjecture; more especially, since the age of Tacitus agrees with the time of the Dialogue. He was four years older than his friend Pliny, and, at eighteen, might properly be allowed by his friends to be of their party. In two years afterwards (A. U. 830), he married Agricola's daughter, and he expressly says (Life of Agricola, sect. ix.), that he was then a very young man. The arguments, drawn by the several commentators from the difference of style, Brotier thinks are of no weight. The style of a young author will naturally differ from what he has settled by practice at an advanced period of life. This has been observed in many eminent writers, and in none more than Lipsius himself. His language,

language, in the outset, was easy, flowing, and elegant; but, as he advanced in years, it became stiff, abrupt, and harsh. Tacitus relates a conversation on a literary subject; and in such a piece, who can expect to find the style of an historian or an annalist? For these reasons Brotier thinks that this Dialogue may, with good reason, be ascribed to Tacitus. The translator enters no farther into the controversy, than to say, that in a case, where certainty cannot be obtained, we must rest satisfied with the best evidence the nature of the thing will admit. The dispute is of no importance; for, as Lipsius says, whether we give the Dialogue to Quintilian or to Tacitus, no inconvenience can arise. Whoever was the author, it is a performance of uncommon beauty.

Before we close this introduction, it will not be improper to say a word or two about Brotier's Supplement. In the wreck of ancient literature a considerable part of this Dialogue has perished, and, by consequence, a chasm is left, much to be lamented by every reader of taste. To avoid the inconvenience of a broken context, Brotier has endeavoured to compensate for the loss. What he has added, will be found in the progress of the work; and as it is executed by the learned editor with great elegance, and equal probability, it is hoped that the insertion of it will be more agreeable to the reader, than a dull pause of melancholy regret.

Section I.

(a) Justus Fabius was consul A. U. C. 864, A. D. 111. But as he did not begin the year, his name does not appear in the FASTI CONSULARES. There are two letters to him from his friend Pliny; the first, lib. i. epist. 11; the other, lib. vii. ep. 2.

It is remarkable that, in the last, the author talks of sending some of his writings for his friend's perusal; *quæram quid potissimum ex nugis meis tibi exhibeam*; but not a word is said about the decline of eloquence.

Section II.

(a) Concerning Maternus nothing is known with any kind of certainty. Dio relates that a sophist, of that name, was put to death by Domitian, for a school declamation against tyrants; but not one of the commentators ventures to assert that he was the *Curatius Maternus*, who makes so conspicuous a figure in the Dialogue before us.

(b) No mention is made of Marcus Aper, either by Quintilian or Pliny. It is supposed that he was father of Marcus Flavius Aper, who was substituted consul A. U. C. 883, A. D. 130. His oratorical character, and that of Secundus, as we find them drawn in this section, are not unlike what we are told by Cicero of Crassus and Antonius. Crassus, he says, was not willing to be thought destitute of literature, but he wished to have it said of him, that he despised it, and preferred the good sense of the Romans to the refinements of Greece. Antonius, on the other hand, was of opinion that his fame would rise to greater magnitude, if he was considered as a man wholly illiterate, and void of education. In this manner they both expected to increase their popularity; the former, by despising the Greeks, and the latter by not knowing them. *Fuit hoc in utroque eorum, ut Crassus non tam existimari vellet non didicisse, quam illa despiciere, et nostrorum hominum in omni genere prudentiam Græcis anteferre. Antonius autem probabiliorem populo orationem fore censebat suam, si omninò didicisse nunquam putaretur; atque ita se uterque graviores fore, si*
alter.

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alter contemnere, alter ne nosse quidem Græcos videretur. Cicero De Orat. lib. ii. cap. i.

(κ) Quintilian makes honourable mention of Julius Secundus, who, if he had not been prematurely cut off, would have transmitted his name to posterity among the most celebrated orators. He would have added, and he was daily doing it, whatever was requisite to complete his oratorical genius; and all that could be desired, was more vigour in argument, and more attention to matter and sentiment than to the choice of words. But he died too soon, and his fame was, in some degree, intercepted. He has, notwithstanding, left a considerable name. His diction was rich and copious; he explained every thing with grace and elegance; his periods flowed with a suavity, that charmed his audience; his language, when metaphorical, was bold, yet accurate; and, if he hazarded an unusual phrase, he was justified by the energy with which his meaning was conveyed. *Julio Secundo, si longior contigisset ætas, clarissimum profecto nomen oratoris apud posteros foret. Adjecisset enim, atque adjiciebat, cæteris virtutibus suis, quod desiderari potest; id est autem, ut esset multo magis pugnax, et sæpius ad curam rerum ab elocutione respiceret. Cæterum interceptus quoque magnum sibi vindicat locum. Ea est facundia, tanta in explicando, quod velit, gratia; tam candidum, et lene, et speciosum dicendi genus; tanta verborum, etiam quæ assumpta sunt, proprietates; tanta in quibusdam, ex periculo petitis, significantia.* Quintil. lib. x. f. i. It is remarkable, that Quintilian, in his list of Roman orators, has neither mentioned Maternus, nor Marcus Aper. The Dialogue, for that reason, seems to be improperly ascribed to him: men, who figure so much in the enquiry concerning oratory, would not have been omitted by the critic, who thought their conversation worth recording.

Section III.

(a) Thyestes was a common and popular subject of ancient tragedy.

Indignatur item privatis, et prope focco
Dignis carminibus narrari scena Thyestæ.

HORAT. ARS POET. ver. 90.

(b) It was the custom of the colonies, and municipal towns, to pay their court to some great orator at Rome, in order to obtain his patronage, whenever they should have occasion to apply to the senate for a redress of grievances.

(c) Domitius was another subject of tragedy, taken from the Roman story. Who he was does not clearly appear. Brotier thinks it was Domitius, the avowed enemy of Julius Cæsar, who moved in the senate, for a law to recall that general from the command of the army in Gaul, and, afterwards, on the breaking out of the civil war, fell bravely at the battle of Pharsalia. See Suetonius, Life of Nero, section 2. Such a character might furnish the subject of a tragedy. The Roman poets were in the habit of enriching their drama with domestic occurrences, and the practice was applauded by Horace.

Nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Græca
Ausu desere, et celebrare domestica facta.

ARS POET. ver. 286.

No path to fame our poets left untried ;
Nor small their merit, when with conscious pride
They scorn'd to take from Greece the storied theme,
But dar'd to sing their own domestic fame.

FRANCIS'S HORACE.

Section

Section V.

(a) There were at Rome several eminent men of the name of Bassus. With regard to the person, here called Saleius Bassus, the commentators have not been able to glean much information. Some have contended that it was to him Persius addressed his sixth satire :

Admovit jam bruma foco te, Bassè, Sabino.

But if we may believe the old scholiast, his name was CÆSIUS BASSUS, a much admired lyric poet, who was living on his own farm, at the time when Mount Vesuvius discharged its torrents of fire, and made the country round a scene of desolation. The poet and his house were overwhelmed by the eruption of the lava, which happened A. U. 832, in the reign of Titus. Quintilian says of him (b. x. chap. 1.), that if after Horace any poet deserves to be mentioned, Cæsius Bassus was the man. *Si quem adjicere velis, is erit Cæsius Bassus.* Saleius Bassus is mentioned by Juvenal as an eminent poet in distress :

—————At Serrano tenuique Saleio
Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?

SAT. vii. ver. 80,

But to poor Bassus what avails a name,
To starve on compliments and empty fame?

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Quintilian says, he possessed a poetic genius, but so warm and vehement, that, even in an advanced age, his spirit was not under the controul of sober judgment. *Vehemens et poeticum ingenium SALEII BASSI fuit; nec ipsum senectute maturum.* This passage affords an insuperable argument against Lipsius, and the rest of the critics, who named Quintilian as a candidate for the honour of this elegant

composition. Can it be imagined that a writer, of fair integrity, would in his great work speak of Bassus as he deserved, and in the Dialogue overrate him beyond all proportion? Duplicity was not a part of Quintilian's character.

(b) Tacitus, it may be presumed with good reason, was a diligent reader of Cicero, Livy, Sallust, and Seneca. He has, in various parts of his works, coincidences of sentiment and diction, that plainly shew the source from which they sprung. In the present case, when he calls eloquence a buckler to protect yourself, and a weapon to annoy your adversary, can any one doubt but he had his eye on the following sentence in *Cicero de Oratore*? *Quid autem tam necessarium, quam tenere semper arma, quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis, vel provocare integros, et te ulcisci laceffitus?*

(c) Eprius Marcellus is often a conspicuous figure in the Annals and the History of Tacitus. To a bad heart he united the gift of eloquence. In the Annals, b. xvi. f. 28, he makes a vehement speech against Pætus Thrasea, and afterwards wrought the destruction of that excellent man. For that exploit, he was attacked, in the beginning of Vespasian's reign, by Helvidius Priscus. In the History (book iv. f. 7 and 8) we see them both engaged in a violent contention. In the following year (823), Helvidius in the senate opened an accusation in form; but Marcellus, by using his eloquence as his buckler and his offensive weapon, was able to ward off the blow. He rose from his seat, and, "I leave you, he said, I leave you to give the law to the senate: reign, if you will, even in the presence of the prince." See Hist. §v. f. 43. See also, Life of Agricola, f. 11, notes (a) and (b).

Section

Section VI.

(a) To be rich, and have no issue, gave to the person so circumstanced the highest consequence at Rome. All ranks of men paid their court to him. To discourage a life of celibacy, and promote population, Augustus passed a law, called *Papia Poppæa*, whereby bachelors were subjected to penalties. Hence the compliment paid by Horace to his patron:

Diva producas sobolem, patrumque
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Fœminis, prolisque novæ feraci
Lege marita.

CARMEN SÆCULARE.

Bring the springing birth to light,
And with ev'ry genial grace
Prolific of an endless race,
Oh! crown our vows, and bless the nuptial rite.

FRANCIS'S HORACE.

But marriage was not brought into fashion. In proportion to the rapid degeneracy of the manners under the emperors, celibacy grew into respect; infomuch, that we find (Annals xii. c. 52) a man too strong for his prosecutors, because he was rich; old, and childless. *Valuitque pecuniosâ orbitate et senectâ.*

(b) The faculty of speaking on a sudden question, with unpremeditated eloquence, Quintilian says, is the reward of study and diligent application. The speech, composed at leisure, will often want the warmth and energy, which accompany the rapid emotions of the mind. The passions, when roused and animated, and the images, which present themselves in a glow of enthusiasm, are the inspirers of true eloquence. Composition has not
I. always

always this happy effect: the process is slow; languor is apt to succeed; the passions subside, and the spirit of the discourse evaporates. *Maximus vero studiorum fructus est, et velut præmium quoddam amplissimum longi laboris, ex tempore dicendi facultas. Pectus est enim, quod disertos facit, et vis mentis. Nam bene concepti affectus, et recentes rerum imagines continuo impetu feruntur, quæ nonnunquam morâ stili refrigescunt, et dilatæ non revertuntur.* Quintilian, lib. x. cap. 7.

Section VII.

(a) The translation is not quite accurate in this place. The original says, when I obtained the *laticlave*, and the English calls it, the *manly gown*, which, it must be admitted, is not the exact sense. The *toga virilis*, or the *manly gown*, was assumed, when the youth came to man's estate, or the age of seventeen years. On that occasion the friends of the young man conducted him to the *forum* (or sometimes to the capitol), and there invested him with the new gown. This was called *dies tirocinii*; the day, on which he commenced a *tiro*, or a candidate for preferment in the army. The *laticlave* was an additional honour often granted at the same time. The sons of senators and patricians were entitled to that distinction, as a matter of right: but the young men, descended from such as were not patricians, did not wear the *laticlave*, till they entered into the service of the commonwealth, and undertook the functions of the civil magistracy. Augustus Cæsar changed that custom. He gave leave to the sons of senators, in general, to assume the *laticlave*, presently after the time of putting on the *toga virilis*, though they were not capable of civil honours. The emperors, who succeeded, allowed the same privilege, as a favour to illustrious families.

Ovid

Ovid speaks of himself and his brother assuming the *manly gown* and the *laticlave* at the same time :

Interea, tacito passu labentibus annis,
Liberior fratri sumpta mihiq̃ue toga ;
Induiturque humeris cum lato purpura clavo.

Pliny the younger shews, that the *laticlave* was a favour granted by the emperor on particular occasions. He says, he applied for his friend, and succeeded : *Ego sexto latumclavum a Cæsare nostro impetravi.* Lib. ii. epist. 9. The *latusclavus* was a robe worn by consuls, prætors, generals in triumph, and senators, who were called *laticlavii*. Their sons were admitted to the same honour ; but the emperors had a power to bestow this garment of distinction, and all privileges belonging to it, upon such as they thought worthy of that honour. This is what Marcus Aper says, in the Dialogue, that he obtained ; and, when the translation mentions the *manly gown*, the expression falls short of the speaker's idea. Dacier has given an account of the *laticlave*, which has been well received by the learned. He tells us, that whatever was made to be put on another thing, was called *clavus*, not because it had any resemblance to a nail, but because it was made an adjunct to another subject. In fact, the *clavi* were purple galloons, with which the Romans bordered the fore part of the tunic, on both sides, and, when drawn close together, they formed an ornament in the middle of the vestment. It was, for that reason, called by the Greeks, μεσοπέρεσπον. The broad galloons made the *laticlave*, and the narrow the *angusticlave*. The *laticlave*, Dacier adds, is not to be confounded with the *prætecta*. The latter was, at first, appropriated to the magistrates, and the sacerdotal order ; but, in time, was extended to

the sons of eminent families, to be worn, as a mark of distinction, till the age of seventeen, when it was laid aside for the *manly gown*. See Dacier's *Horace*, lib. i. sat. 5; and see Kennet's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 306.

(b) Marcus Aper, Julius Secundus, and Curiatius Maternus, according to Brotier and others, were natives of Gaul. Aper (section x.) mentions the Gauls as their common countrymen: *Ne quid de Gallis nostris loquamur*. If that was the fact, a *new man* at Rome would have difficulties to surmount. Ammianus Marcellinus (a Latin historian of the fourth century) says, that at Rome the people despised every thing that did not grow before their eyes within the walls of the city, except the rich who had no children; and the veneration paid to such as had no heirs was altogether incredible. *Vile esse quidquid extra urbis pomerium nascitur, aestimant; nec credi potest qua obsequiorum diversitate coluntur homines sine liberis Romæ*. Lib. xiv. f. 5. In such a city a young man and a stranger could not expect to be favoured.

(c) All causes of a private nature were heard before the *centumviri*. Three were chosen out of every tribe, and the tribes amounted to five-and-thirty, so that in fact 105 were chosen; but, for the sake of a round number, they were called CENTUMVIRI. The causes that were heard before that jurisdiction are enumerated by Cicero, *De Orat.* lib. i. f. 38.

(d) The translation says, *the wills and codicils of the rich*; but it is by no means certain that those words convey the meaning of the text, which simply says, *nec codicillis datur*. After due enquiry, it appears that *codicillus* was used by the Latin authors, for what we now call *the letters patent of a prince*. Codicils,

cils, in the modern sense of the word, implying a supplement to a will, were unknown to the ancient Roman law. The Twelve Tables mention testaments only. Codicils, in aid to wills, were first introduced in the time of Augustus; but, whatever their operation was, legacies granted by those additional writings were for some time of no validity. To confirm this, we are told that the daughter of Lentulus discharged certain legacies, which, being given by codicil, she was not bound to pay. In time, however, codicils, as an addition made by the testator to his will, grew into use, and the legacies thereby granted were confirmed. This might be the case in the sixth year of Vespasian, when the Dialogue passed between the parties; but it is, notwithstanding, highly probable, that the word *codicilli* means, in the passage before us, the *letters patent of the prince*. It is used in that sense by Suetonius, who relates, that Tiberius, after passing a night and two days in revelling with Pomponius Flaccus and Lucius Piso, granted to the former the province of Syria, and made the latter præfect of the city; declaring them, *in the patents*, pleasant companions, and *the friends of all hours*. *Codicillis quoque jucundissimos et omnium horarum amicos professus*. Suet. in Tib. l. 42.

(e) The common people are called, in the original, *tunicatus populus*; that class of men, who wore the *tunic*, and not the *toga*, or the *Roman gown*. The *tunica*, or close coat, was the common garment worn within doors, and abroad, under the *toga*. Kennet says, the *proletarii*, the *capite censi*, and the rest of the dregs of the city, could not afford to wear the *toga*, and therefore went in their *tunics*; whence Horace says (lib. i. epist. 7),

Vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello.

The TOGA, however, was the peculiar dress of the Roman people. VIRGIL distinguishes his countrymen by their mode of apparel:

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.

But, though this was the Roman habit, the lower citizens were obliged to appear abroad in their *tunica*, or close garment. The love of praise is so eager a passion, that the public orator is here represented as delighting in the applause of the rabble. Persius, the satirist, has said the same thing:

Pulchrum est digito monstrari, et dicier, Hic est.

Section VIII.

(a) The character of Eprius Marcellus has been already stated, section v. note (c). Crispus Vibius is mentioned as a man of weight and influence, *Annals*, book xiv. f. 28. Quintilian has mentioned him to his advantage: he calls him, book v. chap. 13, a man of agreeable and elegant talents, *vir ingenii jucundi et elegantis*; and again, Vibius Crispus was distinguished by the elegance of his composition, and the sweetness of his manner; a man born to please, but fitter for private suits, than for the importance of public causes. *Et VIBIUS CRISPUS, compositus, et jucundus, et delectationi natus; privatis tamen causis, quam publicis, melior.* Lib. x. cap. i.

(b) Which of these two men was born at Capua, and which at Vercellæ, is not clearly expressed in the original. Eprius Marcellus, who has been described of a prompt and daring spirit, ready to embark in every mischief, and by his eloquence able to give colour to the worst cause, must at this time have become a

new

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new man, since we find him mentioned in this Dialogue with unbounded praise. He, it seems, and Vibius Crispus were the favourites at Vespasian's court. Vercellæ, now *Vercel*, was situated in the eastern part of Piedmont. *Capua*, rendered famous by Hannibal, was a city in Campania, always deemed the seat of pleasure.

(c) Vespasian is said to have been, what is uncommon among sovereign princes, a patient hearer of truth. His attention to men of letters may be considered as a proof of that assertion. The younger Pliny tells us, that his uncle, the author of the Natural History, used to visit Vespasian before day-light, and gained admittance to the emperor, who devoted his nights to study. *Ante lucem ibat ad Vespasianum imperatorem : nam ille quoque noctibus utebatur.* Lib. iii. epist. 5.

Section IX.

(a) Agamemnon and Jason were two favourite dramatic subjects with the Roman poets. After their example, the moderns seem to have been enamoured with those two Grecian heroes. Racine has displayed the former, in his tragedy of Iphigenia, and the late Mr. Thomson in a performance of great merit, entitled Agamemnon. Corneille, and the late Mr. Glover, thought Jason and Medea worthy of their talents.

(b) Saleius Bassus has been already mentioned, f. v. note (a). It may be added in this place, that the critics of his time concurred in giving him the warmest praise, not only as a good and excellent man, but also as an eminent and admirable poet. He was descended from a family of distinction, but was poor and often distressed. Whether he or Cæsius Bassus was the friend of Persius, is not perfectly clear. Be the fact as it may, the satirist describes

describes a fine poet, and his verses were applicable to either of them :

Jamne lyrâ, et tetrico vivunt tibi pectine chordæ?
 Mire opifex numeris veterum primordia rerum,
 Atque marem strepitum fidis intendisse Latinæ;
 Mox juvenes agitare jocos, et pollice honesto
 Egregios luisse senes. PERSIUS, sat. vi.

(c) Before the invention of printing, copies were not easily multiplied. Authors were eager to enjoy their fame, and the pen of the transcriber was slow and tedious. Public rehearsals were the road to fame. But an audience was to be drawn together by interest, by solicitation, and public advertisements. Pliny, in one of his letters, has given a lively description of the difficulties which the author had to surmount. This year, he says, has produced poets in great abundance. Scarce a day has passed in the month of April, without the recital of a poem. But the greater part of the audience comes with reluctance; they loiter in the lobbies, and there enter into idle chat, occasionally desiring to know, whether the poet is in his pulpit? has he begun? is his preface over? has he almost finished? They condescended, at last, to enter the room; they looked round with an air of indifference, and soon retired, some by stealth, and others with open contempt. Hence the greater praise is due to those authors, who do not suffer their genius to droop, but, on the contrary, amidst the most discouraging circumstances, still persist to cultivate the liberal arts. Pliny adds, that he himself attended all the public readings, and, for that purpose, staid longer in the city than was usual with him. Being, at length, released, he intended, in his rural retreat, to finish a work of his own, but not to read it in public, lest he should be thought to claim a return of the civility,

civility, which he had shewn to others. He was a hearer, and not a creditor. The favour conferred, if redemanded, ceases to be a favour. *Magnum proventum poetarum annus hic attulit. Toto mense Aprili nullus fere dies, quo non recitaret aliquis. Tametsi ad audiendum pigre coitur. Plerique in stationibus sedent, tempusque audiendis fabulis conterunt, ac subinde sibi nuntiari jubent, an jam recitator intraverit, an dixerit præfationem, an ex magnâ parte evolverit librum? Tum demum, ac tunc quoque lentè, cunctanterque veniunt, nec tamen remanent, sed ante finem recedunt; alii dissimulanter, ac furtim; alii simpliciter, ac liberè. Sed tanto magis laudandi probandique sunt, quos a scribendi recitandique studio hæc auditorum vel desidia, vel superbia non retardat. Equidem prope nemini defui: his ex causis longius, quam destinaveram, tempus in urbe consumpsi. Possum jam repetere secessum, et scribere aliquid, quod non recitem, ne videar, quorum recitationibus affui, non auditor fuisse, sed creditor. Nam, ut in cæteris rebus, ita in audiendi officio, perit gratia, si reposcatur.* Pliny, lib. i. ep. 13. Such was the state of literature under the worst of the emperors. The Augustan age was over. In the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula learning drooped, but in some degree revived under the dull and stupid Claudius. Pliny, in the letter above cited, says of that emperor, that, one day hearing a noise in his palace, he enquired what was the cause, and, being informed that Nonianus was reciting in public, went immediately to the place, and became one of the audience. After that time letters met with no encouragement from the great. Lord Shaftesbury says, he cannot but wonder how the Romans, after the extinction of the *Cæsarean* and *Claudian* family, and a short interval of princes raised and destroyed with much disorder and public ruin, were able to regain their perishing dominion, and retrieve their sinking state, by an after-race of wise and able princes, successively adopted, and
taken

taken from a private state to rule the empire of the world. They were men, who not only possessed the military virtues, and supported that sort of discipline in the highest degree; but as they sought the interest of the world, they did what was in their power to restore liberty, and raise again the perishing arts, and the decayed virtue of mankind. But the season was past: *barbarity* and *gothicism* were already entered into the arts, ere the savages made an impression on the empire. See *Advice to an Author*, part ii. f. 1. The *gothicism*, hinted at by Shaftesbury, appears manifestly in the wretched situation, to which the best authors were reduced. The poets, who could not hope to procure an audience, haunted the baths and public walks, in order to fasten on their friends, and, at any rate, obtain a hearing for their works. Juvenal says, the plantations and marble columns of Julius Fronto resounded with the vociferation of reciting poets:

Frontonis platani convulsaque marmora clamant
Semper, et assiduo ruptæ lectore columnæ.
Expectes eadem a summo minimoque poetâ. SAT. i. ver. 12.

The same author observes, that the poet, who aspired to literary fame, might borrow an house for the purpose of a public reading; and the great man, who accommodated the writer, might arrange his friends and freedmen on the back seats, with direction not to be sparing of their applause; but still a stage or pulpit, with convenient benches, was to be procured, and that expence the patrons of letters would not supply.

—————At si dulcedine famæ
Contentus recites, Maculonus commodat ædes.
Scit dare libertos extremâ in parte sedentes
Ordinis, et magnas comitum disponere voces.
Nemo dabit procerum, quanti subsellia consent.
SAT. vii. ver. 39.

Statius,

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Statius, in Juvenal's time, was a favourite poet. If he announced a reading, his auditors went in crowds. He delighted all degrees and ranks of men ; but, when the hour of applause was over, the author was obliged to sell a tragedy to Paris, the famous actor, in order to procure a dinner.

Curritur ad vocem jucundam, et carmen amicæ
Thebaidos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,
Promisitque diem : tantâ dulcedine vulgi
Auditur ; sed cum fregit subsellia versu,
Esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agaven. SAT. vii. ver. 82.

This was the hard lot of poetry, and this the state of public reading, which Aper describes to his friend Maternus.

Section X.

(a) Horace has the same observation :

—————Mediocribus esse poetis
Non Dii, non homines, non concessere columnæ.
ART OF POETRY, ver. 372.

But God and man, and letter'd post denies,
That poets ever are of middling size.
FRANCIS'S HORACE.

(b) Notwithstanding all that is said, in this Dialogue, of Saleius Bassus, it does not appear, in the judgment of Quintilian, that he was a poet, whose fame could extend itself to the distant provinces. Perfection in the kind is necessary. Livy, the historian, was at the head of his profession. In consequence of his vast reputation, we know from Pliny, the consul, that a native of the city of Cadiz was so struck with the character of that great

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writer,

writer, that he made a journey to Rome, with no other intent, than to see that celebrated genius ; and, having gratified his curiosity, without staying to view the wonders of that magnificent city, returned home perfectly satisfied. *Nunquamne legisti Gaditanum quemdam Titi Livii nomine gloriâque commotum, ad visendum cum ab ultimo terrarum orbe venisse, statimque, ut viderat, abiisse ?* Lib. ii. epist. 3.

(c) In Homer and Virgil, as well as in the dramatic poets of the first order, we frequently have passages of real eloquence, with the difference which Quintilian mentions: the poet, he says, is a slave to the measure of his verse ; and, not being able at all times to make use of the true and proper word, he is obliged to quit the natural and easy way of expression, and avail himself of new modes and turns of phraseology, such as tropes, and metaphors, with the liberty of transposing words, and lengthening or shortening syllables as he sees occasion. *Quod alligati ad certam pedum necessitatem non semper propriis uti possint, sed depulsi a rectâ viâ, necessario ad quædam diverticula confugiant ; nec mutare quædam modo verba, sed extendere, corripere, convertere, dividere cogantur.* Quint. lib. x. cap. 1. The speaker in the Dialogue is aware of this distinction, and, subject to it, the various branches of poetry are with him so many different modes of eloquence.

(d) The original has, the citadel of eloquence, which calls to mind an admired passage in Lucretius :

Sed nil dulcius est bene quam munita tenere
Edita doctrinâ sapientum templa ferena,
Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
Errare, atque viam pallantes quærere vitæ.

Lib. ii. ver. 7.

(c) It

(e) It is a fact well known, that in Greece the most illustrious of both sexes thought it honourable to exercise themselves in the exhibitions of the theatre, and even to appear in the athletic games. Plutarch, it is true, will have it, that all scenic arts were prohibited at Sparta by the laws of Lycurgus; and yet Cornelius Nepos assures us, that no Lacedæmonian matron, however high her quality, was ashamed to act for hire on the public stage. He adds, that, throughout Greece, it was deemed the highest honour to obtain the prize in the Olympic games, and no man blushed to be a performer in plays and pantomimes, and give himself a spectacle to the people. *Nulla Lacedæmoni tam est nobilis vidua, quæ non in scenam eat mercede conducta.* *Magnis in laudibus totâ fuit Græciâ victorem Olympiæ citari. In scenam vero prodire, et populo esse spectaculo nemini in iisdem gentibus fuit turpitudini.* Corn. Nep. in *Præfat.* It appears, however, from a story told by Ælian (and cited by Shaftesbury, *Advice to an Author*, part ii. f. 3), that the Greek women were by law excluded from the Olympic games. Whoever was found to transgress, or even to cross the river Alpheus, during the celebration of that great spectacle, was liable to be thrown from a rock. The consequence was, that not one female was detected, except *Callipatria*, or, as others called her, *Pherenicè*. This woman, disguised in the habit of a teacher of gymnastic exercises, introduced her son, *Pisidorus*, to contend for the victor's prize. Her son succeeded. Transported with joy at a sight so glorious, the mother overleaped the fence, which enclosed the magistrates, and, in the violence of that exertion, let fall her garment. She was, by consequence, known to be a woman, but absolved from all criminality. For that mild and equitable sentence, she was indebted to the merit of her father, her brothers, and her son, who all obtained the victor's crown. The incident, however, gave birth to a new law,

whereby it was enacted, that the masters of the gymnastic art should, for the future, come naked to the Olympic games. *Ælian*, lib. x. cap. 1 ; and see *Pausanias*, lib. v. cap. 6.

(f) Nicostratus is praised by Pausanias (lib. v. cap. 20), as a great master of the athletic arts. Quintilian has also recorded his prowess. Nicostratus, whom in our youth we saw advanced in years, would instruct his pupil in every branch of his art, and make him, what he was himself, an invincible champion. Invincible he was, since, on one and the same day, he entered the lists as a wrestler and a boxer, and was proclaimed conqueror in both. *Ac si fuerit qui docebitur, ille, quem adolescentes vidimus, Nicostratus, omnibus in eo docendi partibus similiter uteretur; efficietque illum, qualis hic fuit, luctando pugnandoque (quorum utroque in certamine iisdem diebus coronabatur) invictum.* Quint. lib. ii. cap. 8.

Section XI.

(a) Nero's ambition to excel in poetry was not only ridiculous, but, at the same time, destructive to Lucan, and almost all the good authors of the age. See *Annals*, b. xv. According to the old scholiast on the Satires of Persius, the following verses were either written by Nero, or made in imitation of that emperor's style :

Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,
Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo
Bassaris, et lyncem Mænas flexura corymbis,
Evion ingeminat; reparabilis adsonat echo.

The affectation of rhyme, which many ages afterwards was the essential part of monkish verse, the tumour of the words, and the
wretched

wretched penury of thought, may be imputed to a frivolous prince; who studied his art of poetry in the manner described by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 16. And yet it may be a question, whether the satirist would have the hardiness to insert the very words of an imperial poet, armed with despotic power. A burlesque imitation would answer the purpose; and it may be inferred from another passage in the same poem, that Persius was content to ridicule the mode of versification then in vogue at court.

Claudere sic versum didicit; Berecynthius Attin,
Et qui cæruleum dirimebat Nerea Delphin.
Sic costam longo subduximus Apennino.

(b) Vatinius was a favourite at the court of Nero. Tacitus calls him the spawn of a cook's shop and a tippling-house; *utrinæ et tabernæ alumnus*. He recommended himself to the favour of the prince by his scurrility and vulgar humour. Being, by those arts, raised above himself, he became the declared enemy of all good men, and acted a distinguished part among the vilest instruments of that pernicious court. See his character, *Annals*, xv. f. 34. When an illiberal and low buffoon basks in the sunshine of a court, and enjoys exorbitant power, the cause of literature can have nothing to expect. The liberal arts must, by consequence, be degraded by a corrupt taste, and learning will be left to run wild and grow to seed.

Section XII.

(a) That poetry requires a retreat from the bustle of the world, has been so often repeated, that it is now considered as a truth, from which there can be no appeal. Milton, it is true, wrote his *Paradise Lost* in a small house near *Bunhill Fields*; and Dryden courted the muse in the hurry and dissipation of a town life.

life. But neither of them fixed his residence by choice. Pope grew immortal on the banks of the Thames. But though the country seems to be the seat of contemplation, two great writers have been in opposite opinions. Cicero says, woods and groves, and rivers winding through the meadows, and the refreshing breeze, with the melody of birds, may have their attraction; but they rather relax the mind into indolence, than rouse our attention, or give vigour to our faculties. *Sylvarum amœnitas, et præterlabentia flumina, et inspirantes ramis arborum auræ, volucrumque cantus, et ipsa late circumspiciendi libertas ad se trahunt; at mihi remittere potius voluptas ista videtur cogitationem, quam intendere.* *De Orat.* lib. ii. This, perhaps, may be true as applied to the public orator, whose scene of action lay in the forum or the senate. Pliny, on the other hand, says to his friend Tacitus, there is something in the solemnity of venerable woods, and the awful silence which prevails in those places, that strongly disposes us to study and contemplation. For the future, therefore, whenever you hunt, take along with you your pen and paper, as well as your basket and bottle; for you will find the mountains not more inhabited by DIANA, than by MINERVA. *Jam undique sylvæ, et solitudo, ipsumque illud silentium, quod venationi datur, magna cogitationis incitamenta sunt. Proinde, cum venabere, licebit, auctore me, ut panarium et lagunculam, sic etiam pugillares feras. Experiaris non DIANAM magis montibus quam MINERVAM inerrare.* Lib. i. epist. 6. Between these two different opinions, a true poet may be allowed to decide. Horace describes the noise and tumult of a city life, and then says,

Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nœmus, et fugit urbes.

EPIST. lib. ii. ep. ii. ver. 77.

Alas! to grottos and to groves we run,
To ease and silence, ev'ry muse's son.

POPE.

(b) The

(b) The expression in the original is full and expressive, *lucrosæ hujus et sanguinantis eloquentiæ*; that gainful and blood-thirsty eloquence. The immoderate wealth acquired by Eprius Marcellus has been mentioned in this Dialogue, section viii. Pliny gives us an idea of the vast acquisitions gained by Regulus, the notorious informer. From a state of indigence, he rose, by a train of villanous actions, to such immense riches, that he once consulted the omens, to know how soon he should be worth sixty millions of sesterces, and found them so favourable, that he had no doubt of being worth double that sum. *Aspice Regulum, qui ex paupere et tenui ad tantas opes per flagitia processit, ut ipse mihi dixerit, cum consuleret, quam cito sestertium sexcenties impleturus esset, invenisse se exta duplicata, quibus portendi millic et ducenties habiturum.* Lib. ii. ep. 20. In another epistle the same author relates, that Regulus, having lost his son, was visited upon that occasion by multitudes of people, who all in secret detested him, yet paid their court with as much assiduity as if they esteemed and loved him. They retaliated upon this man his own insidious arts: to gain the friendship of Regulus, they played the game of Regulus himself. He, in the mean time, dwells in his villa on the other side of the Tiber, where he has covered a large tract of ground with magnificent porticos, and lined the banks of the river with elegant statues; profuse, with all his avarice, and, in the depth of infamy, proud and vain-glorious. *Convenitur ad eum mirâ celebritate: cuncti detestantur, oderunt; et, quasi probent, quasi diligant, cursant, frequentant, utque breviter, quod sentio, enunciem, in Regulo demerendo, Regulum imitantur. Tenet se trans Tyberim in hortis, in quibus latissimum solum porticibus immensis, ripam statuis suis occupavit; ut est, in summâ avaritiâ sumptuosus, in summâ infamiâ gloriosus.* Lib. iv. ep. 2. All this splendour, in which Regulus lived, was the fruit of a gainful and blood-thirsty eloquence;

eloquence ; if that may be called eloquence, which Pliny says was nothing more than a crazed imagination ; *nihil præter ingenium insanum*. Lib. iv. ep. 7.

(c) Orpheus, in poetic story, was the son of Calliope, and Linus boasted of Apollo for his father.

—————Nec Thracius Orpheus,
Nec Linus ; huic mater quamvis, atque huic pater adsit,
Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo. VIRG. ECL. iv. ver. 55.

Not Orpheus' self, nor Linus should exceed
My lofty lays, or gain the poet's meed,
Tho' Phœbus, tho' Calliope inspire,
And one the mother aid, and one the fire.

WHARTON'S VIRGIL.

Orpheus embarked in the Argonautic expedition. His history of it, together with his hymns, is still extant ; but whether genuine, is much doubted.

(d) Lysias, the celebrated orator, was a native of Syracuse, the chief town in Sicily. He lived about four hundred years before the Christian æra. Cicero says, that he did not addict himself to the practice of the bar ; but his compositions were so judicious, so pure and elegant, that you might venture to pronounce him a perfect orator. *Tum fuit Lysias, ipse quidem in causis forensibus non versatus, sed egregiè subtilis scriptor, atque elegans, quem jam prope audeas oratorem perfectum dicere*. Cicero *De Claris Orat.* l. 35. Quintilian gives the same opinion. Lysias, he says, preceded Demosthenes : he is acute and elegant, and, if to teach the art of speaking were the only business of an orator, nothing more perfect can be found. He has no redundancy,

dancy, nothing superfluous, nothing too refined, or foreign to his purpose : his style is flowing, but more like a pure fountain, than a noble river. *His ætate Lysias major, subtilis atque elegans, et quo nihil, si oratori satis sit docere, quæras perfectius. Nihil enim est inane, nihil arcessitum; puro tamen fonti, quam magno flumini propior.* Quint. lib. x. cap. i. A considerable number of his orations is still extant, all written with exquisite taste and inexpressible sweetness. See a very pleasing translation by Dr. Gillies.

Hyperides flourished at Athens in the time of Demosthenes, Æschynes, Lycurgus, and other famous orators. That age, says Cicero, poured forth a torrent of eloquence, of the best and purest kind, without the false glitter of affected ornament, in a style of noble simplicity, which lasted to the end of that period. *Huic Hyperides proximus, et Æschynes fuit, et Lycurgus, alique plures. Hæc enim ætas effudit hanc copiam; et, ut opinio mea fert, succus ille et sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis inesset, non fucatus nitor.* *De Claris Orat.* f. 36. Quintilian allows to Hyperides a keen discernment, and great sweetness of style; but he pronounces him an orator designed by nature to shine in causes of no great moment. *Dulcis in primis et acutus Hyperides; sed minoribus causis, ut non dixerim utilior, magis par.* Lib. x. cap. i. Whatever might be the case, when this Dialogue happened, it is certain, at present, that the fame of Sophocles and Euripides has eclipsed the two Greek orators.

(e) For an account of Asinius Pollio and Corvinus Messala, see *Annals*, b. xi. f. 6. Quintilian (b. xii. chap. 10) commends the diligence of Pollio, and the dignity of Messala. In another

part of his Institutes, he praises the invention, the judgment, and spirit of Pollio, but at the same time says, he fell so short of the suavity and splendour of Cicero, that he might well pass for an orator of a former age. He adds, that Messala was natural and elegant: the grandeur of his style seemed to announce the nobility of his birth; but still he wanted force and energy. *Multa in Asinio Pollione inventio, summa diligentia, adeo ut quibusdam etiam nimia videatur; et consilii et animi satis; a nitore et jucunditate Ciceronis ita longe abest, ut videri possit sæculo prior. At Messala nitidus et candidus, et quodammodo præ se ferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor.* Quintilian, lib. x. cap. i. The two great poets of the Augustan age have transmitted the name of Asinius Pollio to the latest posterity. Virgil has celebrated him as a poet, and a commander of armies, in the Illyrican and Dalmatic wars.

Tu mihi, seu magni superas jam faxa Timavi;
Sive oram Illyrici legis æquoris; en erit unquam
Ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?
En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem
Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno?

ECLOG. viii. ver. C.

O Pollio! leading thy victorious bands
O'er deep Timavus, or Illyria's sands;
O when thy glorious deeds shall I rehearse?
When tell the world how matchless is thy verse,
Worthy the lofty stage of laurell'd Greece,
Great rival of majestic Sophocles?

WHARTON'S VIRGIL.

Horace has added the orator and the statesman:

Paulum severæ musa tragediæ
Desit theatris; mox, ubi publicas

Res

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Res ordinariis, grande munus
 Cecropio repetes cothurno,
 Insigne mœstis præsidium reis,
 Et consulenti, Pollio, curiæ,
 Cui laurus æternos honores
 Dalmatico peperit triumpho. Lib. ii. ode 1.

Retard a while thy glowing vein,
 Nor swell the solemn tragic scene;
 And when thy sage, thy patriot cares
 Have form'd the train of Rome's affairs,
 With lofty rapture reinflam'd, diffuse
 Heroic thoughts, and wake the buskin'd muse.

FRANCIS'S HORACE.

But after all, the question put by Maternus, is, Can any of their orations be compared to the *Medea* of Ovid, or the *Thyestes* of Varius? Those two tragedies are so often praised by the critics of antiquity, that the republic of letters has reason to lament the loss. Quintilian says that the *Medea* of Ovid was a specimen of genius, that shewed to what heights the poet could have risen, had he thought fit rather to curb, than give the rein to his imagination. *Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum vir ille præstare potuisset, si ingenio suo temperare, quam indulgere maluisset.* Lib. x. cap. 1.

The works of Varius, if we except a few fragments, are wholly lost. Horace, in his journey to Brundisium, met him and Virgil, and he mentions the incident with the rapture of a friend, who loved them both :

Plotius, et VARIUS Sinuessæ, Virgiliusque
 Occurrunt; animæ quales neque candidiores
 Terra tulit, neque quis me sit devinctior alter.

Lib. i. sat. 5.

Horace also celebrates Varius as a poet of sublime genius. He begins his Ode to Agrippa with the following lines :

Scriberis Vario fortis, et hostium
Victor, Mæonii carminis alite,
Quam rem cumque ferox navibus, aut equis
Miles te duce gesserit. Lib. i. ode 6.

Varius, who soars on epic wing,
Agrippa, shall thy conquests sing,
Whate'er, inspir'd by thy command,
The foldier dar'd on sea or land. FRANCIS'S HORACE.

A few fragments only of his works have reached posterity. His tragedy of *THYESTES* is highly praised by Quintilian. That judicious critic does not hesitate to say, that it may be opposed to the best productions of the Greek stage. *Jam Varii Thyestes cuilibet Græcorum comparari potest.* Varius lived in high favour at the court of Augustus. After the death of Virgil, he was joined with *Plotius* and *Tucca* to revise the works of that admirable poet. The *Varus* of Virgil, so often celebrated in the Pastorals, was, notwithstanding what some of the commentators have said, a different person from Varius, the author of *Thyestes*.

Section XIII.

(a) The rural delight of Virgil is described by himself :

Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes ;
Flumina amem, sylvasque inglorius. O ubi campi,
Sperchiusque, et virginibus bacchata Lacænis
Taygeta ! O quis me gelidis sub montibus Hæmi
Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ !

GEORGICA, lib. ii. ver. 485.

Me

Me may the lowly vales and woodland please,
 And winding rivers, and inglorious ease!
 O that I wander'd by Sperchius' flood,
 Or on Taygetus' sacred top I stood!
 Who in cool Hæmus' vales my limbs will lay,
 And in the darkest thicket hide from day!

WHARTON'S VIRG.

Besides this poetical retreat, which his imagination could command at any time, Virgil had a real and delightful villa near Naples, where he composed his *Georgics*, and wrote great part of the *Æneid*.

(b) When Augustus, or any eminent citizen, distinguished by his public merit, appeared in the theatre, the people testified their joy by acclamations, and unbounded applause. It is recorded by Horace, that Mæcenus received that public honour.

—————Datus in theatro
 Cum tibi plausus,
 Care Mæcenus eques, ut paterni
 Fluminis ripæ, simul et jocosa
 Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
 Montis imago. Lib. i. ode 20.

When Virgil appeared, the audience paid the same compliment to a man whose poetry adorned the Roman story. The letters from Augustus, which are mentioned in this passage, have perished in the ruins of ancient literature.

(c) Pomponius Secundus was of consular rank, and an eminent writer of tragedy. See *Annals*, b. ii. f. 13. His life was written by Pliny the elder, whose nephew mentions the fact (book iii. epist. 5), and says it was a tribute to friendship. Quintilian

tilian pronounces him the best of all the dramatic poets, whom he had seen; though the critics, whose judgment was matured by years, did not think him sufficiently tragical. They admitted, however, that his erudition was considerable, and the beauty of his composition surpassed all his contemporaries. *Eorum, quos viderim, longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore præstare confitebantur.* Lib. x. cap. 1.

(d) Quintilian makes honourable mention of Domitius Afer. He says, when he was a boy, the speeches of that orator for Volusenus Catulus were held in high estimation. *Et nobis pueris insignes pro Voluseno Catulo Domitii Afri orationes ferebantur.* Lib. x. cap. 1. He adds, in another part of the same chapter, that Domitius Afer and Julius Africanus were, of all the orators who flourished in his time, without comparison the best. But Afer stands distinguished by the splendour of his diction, and the rhetorical art, which he has displayed in all his compositions. You would not scruple to rank him among the ancient orators. *Eorum quos viderim, Domitius Afer et Julius Secundus longe præstantissimi. Verborum arte ille, et toto genere dicendi præferendus, et quem in numero veterum locare non timeas.* Lib. x. cap. 1. Quintilian relates, that in a conversation which he had when a young man, he asked Domitius Afer what poet was, in his opinion, the next to Homer? The answer was, *Virgil is undoubtedly the second epic poet, but he is nearer to the first, than to the third. Utar enim verbis, quæ ex Afro Domitio juvenis accepi; qui mihi interroganti, quem Homero crederet maximè accedere: Secundus, inquit, est Virgilius, propior tamen primo quam tertio.* Lib. x. cap. 1. We may believe that Quintilian thought highly of the man, whose judgment he cites as an authority. Quintilian, however,

however, had in view nothing but the talents of this celebrated orator. Tacitus, as a moral historian, looked at the character of the man. He introduces him on the stage of public business in the reign of Tiberius, and there represents him in haste to advance himself by any kind of crime. *Quoquo facinore properus clarescere*. He tells us, in the same passage (*Annals*, b. iv. f. 52), that Tiberius pronounced him an orator in his own right, *suo jure disertum*. Afer died in the reign of Nero, A. U. C. 812, A. D. 59. In relating his death, Tacitus observes, that he raised himself by his eloquence to the first civil honours; but he does not dismiss him without condemning his morals. *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 19.

(e) We find in the *Annals* and the *History* of Tacitus, a number of instances to justify the sentiments of Maternus. The rich found it necessary to bequeath part of their substance to the prince, in order to secure the remainder for their families. For the same reason, Agricola made Domitian joint heir with his wife and daughter. *Life of Agricola*, section xliii.

(f) By a law of the Twelve Tables, a crown, when fairly earned by virtue, was placed on the head of the deceased, and another was ordered to be given to his father. The spirit of the law, Cicero says, plainly intimated, that commendation was a tribute due to departed virtue. A crown was given not only to him, who earned it, but also to the father, who gave birth to distinguished merit. *Illam jam significatio est, laudis ornamenta ad mortuos pertinere, quod coronam virtute partam, et ei, qui peperisset, et ejus parenti, sine fraude lex impositam esse jubet*. *De Legibus*, lib. ii. f. 24. This is the reward to which Maternus aspires;

aspires ; and, that being granted, he desires, as Horace did before him, to wave the pomp of funeral ceremonies.

Absint inani funere nœniæ,
 Luctusque turpes, et querimoniæ ;
 Compesce clamorem, et sepulchri
 Mitte supervacuos honores.

Lib. ii. ode 20.

My friends, the funeral sorrow spare,
 The plaintive song, and tender tear ;
 Nor let the voice of grief profane,
 With loud laments, the solemn scene ;
 Nor o'er your poet's empty urn
 With useless idle sorrow mourn.

FRANCIS'S HORACE.

Section XIV.

(a) Vipstanius Messala commanded a legion, and, at the head of it, went over to Vespasian's party in the contention with Vitellius. He was a man of illustrious birth, and equal merit ; the only one, says Tacitus, who entered into that war from motives of virtue. *Legioni Vipstanius Messala præerat, claris majoribus, egregius ipse, et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas attulisset. Hist. lib. iii. f. 9.* He was brother to Regulus, the vile informer, who has been mentioned. See Life of Agricola, section ii. note (a), and this tract, f. xii. note (b). Messala, we are told by Tacitus, before he had attained the senatorian age, acquired great fame by pleading the cause of his profligate brother with extraordinary eloquence, and family affection. *Magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiæque famam Vipstanius Messala adeptus est ; nondum senatoriâ ætate, ausus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari. Hist. lib. iv. f. 42.* Since Messala has now joined the company, the Dialogue takes a new turn, and, by an easy and natural transition,

slides

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slides into the question concerning the causes of the decline of eloquence.

(b) This is probably the same Asiaticus, who, in the revolt of the provinces of Gaul, fought on the side of VINDEX. See *Hist.* b. ii. f. 94. Biography was, in that evil period, a tribute paid by the friends of departed merit, and the only kind of writing, in which men could dare faintly to utter a sentiment in favour of virtue and public liberty.

(c) In the declamations of Seneca and Quintilian, we have abundant examples of these scholastic exercises, which Juvenal has placed in a ridiculous light.

Et nos ergo manum ferulæ subduximus, et nos
Consilium dedimus Syllæ, privatus ut altum
Dormiret.

SAT. i. ver. 15.

Provok'd by these incorrigible fools,
I left declaiming in pedantic schools;
Where, with men-boys, I strove to get renown,
Advising Sylla to a private gown.

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Section XV.

(a) The eloquence of Cicero, and the eminent orators of that age, was preferred by all men of sound judgment to the unnatural and affected style that prevailed under the emperors. Quintilian gives a decided opinion. Cicero, he says, was allowed to be the reigning orator of his time, and his name, with posterity, is not so much that of a man, as of eloquence itself. *Quare non immerito ab hominibus ætatis suæ regnare in judiciis dictus est: apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis,*

minis, sed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur. Lib. x. cap. 1. Pliny the younger professed that Cicero was the orator, with whom he aspired to enter into competition. Not content with the eloquence of his own times, he held it absurd not to follow the best examples of a former age. *Est enim mihi cum Cicerone æmulationis, nec sum contentus eloquentiâ sæculi nostri. Nam stultissimum credo, ad imitandum non optima quæque præponere.* Lib. i. epist. 5.

(b) Nicetes was a native of Smyrna, and a rhetorician in great celebrity. Seneca says (*Controversiarum* lib. iv. cap. 25), that his scholars, content with hearing their master, had no ambition to be heard themselves. Pliny the younger, among the commendations which he bestows on a friend, mentions, as a praise-worthy part of his character, that he attended the lectures of Quintilian and Nicetes Sacerdos, of whom Pliny himself was at that time a constant follower. *Erat non studiorum tantum, verum etiam studioforum amantissimus, ac prope quotidie ad audientes, quos tunc ego frequentabam, Quintilianum et Niceten Sacerdotem, ventitabat.* Lib. vi. epist. 6.

(c) Mitylene was the chief city of the isle of Lesbos, in the Ægean Sea, near the coast of Asia. The place at this day is called *Metelin*; subject to the Turkish dominion. *Ephesus* was a city of *Ionia*, in the Lesser Asia, now called *Ajaloue* by the Turks, who are masters of the place.

(d) Domitius Afer and Julius Africanus have been already mentioned, section xiii. note (d). Both are highly praised by Quintilian. For Asinius Pollio, see f. xii. note (e).

Section XVI.

(a) Quintilian puts the same question, and, according to him, Demosthenes is the last of the ancients among the Greeks, as Cicero is among the Romans. See *Quintilian*, lib. viii. cap. 5.

(b) The siege of Troy is supposed to have been brought to a conclusion eleven hundred and ninety-three years before the Christian æra. From that time to the sixth year of Vespasian, (A. U. C. 828), when this Dialogue was had, the number of years that intervened was about 1268; a period which, with propriety, may be said to be little less than 1300 years.

(c) Demosthenes died, before Christ 322 years, A. U. C. 432. From that time to the sixth of Vespasian, A. U. C. 828, the intervening space was about 396 years. Aper calls it little more than 400 years; but in a conversation-piece strict accuracy is not to be expected.

(d) In the rude state of astronomy, which prevailed during many ages of the world, it was natural that mankind should differ in their computation of time. The ancient Ægyptians, according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. and Pliny the elder, lib. vii. f. 48, measured time by the new moons. Some called the summer one year, and the winter another. At first thirty days were a lunar year; three, four, and six months were afterwards added, and hence in the Ægyptian chronology the vast number of years from the beginning of the world. Herodotus informs us, that the Ægyptians, in process of time, formed the idea of the solar or solstitial year, subdivided into twelve months. The Roman year at first was lunar, consisting, in the time of Romulus, of ten months. Numa Pompilius added two. Men saw a diversity in

the seasons, and, wishing to know the cause, began at length to perceive that the distance or proximity of the sun occasioned the various operations of nature; but it was long before the space of time, wherein that luminary performs his course through the zodiac, and returns to the point from which he set out, was called a year. The great year (*annus magnus*), or the PLATONIC YEAR, is the space of time, wherein the seven planets complete their revolutions, and all set out again from the same point of the heavens, where their course began before. Mathematicians have been much divided in their calculations. Brotier observes, that Riccioli makes the great year 25,920 solar years; Tycho Brahe, 25,816; and Cassini, 24,800. Cicero expressly calls it a period of 12,954 years. *Horum annorum, quos in fastis habemus, MAGNUS annos duodecim millia nongentos quinquaginta quatuor amplectitur, solstitiales scilicet.* For a full and accurate dissertation on the AN-NUS MAGNUS, see the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, tom. xxii. 4to edit. p. 82.

Brotier, in his note on this passage, relates a fact not universally known. He mentions a letter from one of the Jesuits on the mission, dated *Peking*, 25 October 1725, in which it is stated, that in the month of March preceding, when Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury were in conjunction, the Chinese mathematicians fancied that an approximation of Saturn was near at hand, and, in that persuasion, congratulated the emperor YONG-TCHING on the renovation of the world, which was shortly to take place. The emperor received the addresses of the nobility, and gave credit to the opinion of the philosophers in all his public edicts. Meanwhile, *Father Keger* endeavoured to undeceive the emperor, and to convince him that the whole was a mistake of the Chinese mathe-

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mathematicians : but he tried in vain ; flattery succeeded at court, and triumphed over truth.

(e) The argument is this : If the great year is the measure of time ; then, as it consists, according to Cicero, of 12,954 solar years, the whole being divided by twelve, every month of the great year would be clearly 1080 years. According to that calculation, Demosthenes not only lived in the same year with the persons engaged in the Dialogue, but, it may be said, in the same month. These are the months, to which Virgil alludes in the fourth eclogue :

Incipient magni procedere menses.

Section XVII.

(a) Menenius Agrippa was consul A. U. C. 251. In less than ten years afterwards, violent dissensions broke out between the patrician order and the common people, who complained that they were harassed and oppressed by their affluent creditors. One Sicinius was their factious demagogue. He told them, that it was in vain they fought the battles of their country, since they were no better than slaves and prisoners at Rome. He added, that men are born equal ; that the fruits of the earth were the common birth-right of all, and an Agrarian law was necessary ; that they groaned under a load of debts and taxes ; and that a lazy and corrupt aristocracy batten'd at ease on the spoils of their labour and industry. By the advice of this incendiary, the discontented citizens made a secession to the MONS SACER, about three miles out of the city. The fathers, in the mean time, were covered with consternation. In order, however, to appease the fury of the multitude, they dispatched Menenius Agrippa

Agrippa to their camp. In the rude, unpolished style of the times (*prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo*, says Livy), that orator told them: “At the time when the powers of man did not, as at present, co-operate to one useful end, and the members of the human body had their separate interest, their factions and cabals; it was agreed among them, that the belly maintained itself by their toil and labour, enjoying, in the middle of all, a state of calm repose, pampered with luxuries, and gratified with every kind of pleasure. A conspiracy followed, and the several members of the body took the covenant. The hand would no longer administer food; the mouth would not accept it, and the drudgery of mastication was too much for the teeth. They continued in this resolution, determined to starve the TREASURY of the body, till they began to feel the consequences of their ill-advised revolt. The several members lost their former vigour, and the whole body was falling into a rapid decline. It was then seen that the belly was formed for the good of the whole; that it was by no means lazy, idle, and inactive; but, while it was properly supported, took care to distribute nourishment to every part, and, having digested the supplies, filled the veins with pure and wholesome blood.” The analogy, which this fable bore to the sedition of the Roman people, was understood and felt. The discontented multitude saw that the state of man, described by Menenius, was *like to an insurrection*. They returned to Rome, and submitted to legal government. *Tempore, quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentiebant, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerat, indignatas reliquas partes, suâ curâ, suo labore, ac ministerio ventri omnia quæri; ventrem in medio quietum, nihil aliud, quam datis voluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent. Hac irâ dum ventrem*
fame

fame domare vellent, ipsa unà membra, totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse, ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse; nec magis ali quam alere eum; reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum, pariter in venas, maturum confecto cibo sanguinem. Livy, lib. ii. f. 32.

ST. PAUL has made use of a similar argument: "The body is
 " not one member, but many: if the foot shall say, Because I
 " am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it, therefore, not of
 " the body? And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye,
 " I am not of the body; is it, therefore, not of the body? If the
 " whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the
 " whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But now hath
 " God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath
 " pleased him. And if they were all one member, where were
 " the body? But now are they many members, yet but one body:
 " and the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee;
 " nor again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you. And
 " whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or
 " one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it."

First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xii. This reasoning of ST. PAUL merits the attention of those friends of innovation, who are not content with the station in which God has placed them, and, therefore, object to all subordination, all ranks in society.

(b) Cæsar the dictator was, as the poet expresses it, *graced* with both Minervas. Quintilian is of opinion, that if he had devoted his whole time to the profession of eloquence, he would have been the great rival of Cicero. The energy of his language, his strength of conception, and his power over the passions, were so striking, that he may be said to have harangued with the
 same

same spirit that he fought. *Caius vero Cæsar, si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur. Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat.* Lib. x. cap. i. To speak of Cicero in this place, were to hold a candle to the sun. It will be sufficient to refer to Quintilian, who, in the chapter above cited, has drawn a beautiful parallel between him and Demosthenes. The Roman orator, he admits, improved himself by a diligent study of the best models of Greece. He attained the warmth and the sublime of Demosthenes, the harmony of Plato, and the sweet flexibility of Isocrates. His own native genius supplied the rest. He was not content, as Pindar expresses it, to collect the drops that rained down from heaven, but had in himself the living fountain of that copious flow, and that sublime, that pathetic energy, which were bestowed upon him by the bounty of Providence, that in one man Eloquence might exert all her powers. *Nam mihi videtur Marcus Tullius, cum se totum ad imitationem Græcorum contulisset, effinxisse vim Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, jucunditatem Isocratis. Nec vero quod in quoque optimum fuit studio consecutus est tantum, sed plurimas vel potius omnes ex se ipso virtutes extulit immortalis ingenii beatissimâ ubertate. Non enim pluvias (ut ait Pindarus) aquas colligit, sed vivo gurgite exundat, dono quodam providentiæ genitus, in quo vires suas Eloquentia experiretur.* Lib. x. cap. i.

(c) Marcus Cælius Rufus, in the judgment of Quintilian, was an orator of considerable genius. In the conduct of a prosecution, he was remarkable for a certain urbanity, that gave a secret charm to his whole speech. It is to be regretted that he was not a man of better conduct, and longer life. *Multum ingenii in Cælio, et præcipuè in accusando multa urbanitas; dignusque vir,*
cui

cui et mens melior, et vita longior contigisset. Quint. lib. x. cap. i. His letters to Cicero make the eighth book of the *Epistolæ ad Familiares*. Velleius Paterculus says of him, that his style of eloquence and his cast of mind bore a resemblance to Curio, but raised him above that factious orator. His genius for mischief and evil deeds was not inferior to Curio, and his motives were strong and urgent, since his fortune was worse than even his frame of mind. *Marcus Cælius, vir eloquio animoque Curioni simillimus, sed in utroque perfectior; nec minus ingeniosè nequam, cum ne in modicâ quidem servari posset, quippe pejor illi res familiaris, quam mens.* Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. f. 68.

Licinius Macer Calvus, we are told by Seneca, maintained a long but unjust contention with Cicero himself for the palm of eloquence. He was a warm and vehement accuser, insomuch that Vatinius, though defended by Cicero, interrupted Calvus in the middle of his speech, and said to the judges, “Though this
“man has a torrent of words, does it follow that I must be con-
“demned?” *Calvus diu cum Cicerone iniquissimam litem de principatu eloquentiæ habuit; et usque eo violentus accusator et concitatus fuit, ut in media actione ejus surgeret Vatinius Reus, et exclamaret, Rogo vos, judices, si iste disertus est, ideo me daminari oportet?* Seneca, *Controv.* lib. iii. cap. 19. Cicero could not dread him as a rival, and it may therefore be presumed, that he has drawn his character with an impartial hand. Calvus was an orator more improved by literature than Curio. He spoke with accuracy, and in his composition shewed great taste and delicacy; but, labouring to refine his language, he was too attentive to little niceties. He wished to make no bad blood, and he lost the good. His style was polished with timid caution; but while it pleased the ear of the learned, the spirit evaporated, and of course made

no impression in the forum, which is the theatre of eloquence. *Ad Calvum revertamur ; qui orator fuisset cum literis eruditior quam Curio, tum etiam accuratius quoddam dicendi, et exquisitius offerebat genus ; quod quamquam scienter eleganterque tractabat, nimium tamen inquirens in se, atque ipse sese observans, metuensque ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio nimiam religione attenuata, doctis et attentè audientibus erat illustris, a multitudine autem, et a foro, cui nata eloquentia est, devorabatur. De Claris Orat. l. 283.* Quintilian says, there were, who preferred him to all the orators of his time. Others were of opinion that, by being too severe a critic on himself, he polished too much, and grew weak by refinement. But his manner was grave and solid ; his style was chaste, and often animated. To be thought a man of attic eloquence was the height of his ambition. If he had lived to see his error, and to give to his eloquence a true and perfect form, not by retrenching (for there was nothing to be taken away), but by adding certain qualities that were wanted, he would have reached the summit of his art. By a premature death his fame was nipped in the bud. *Inveni qui Calvum præferrent omnibus ; inveni qui contrà crederent eum, nimiam contra se calumniâ, verum sanguinem perdidisse. Sed est et sancta et gravis oratio, et castigata, et frequenter vehemens quoque. Imitator est autem Atticorum ; fecitque illi properata mors injuriam, si quid adjecturus, non si quid detracturus fuit. Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1.*

(d) This was the famous Marcus Junius Brutus, who stood forth in the cause of liberty, and delivered his country from the usurpation of Julius Cæsar. Cicero describes him in that great tragic scene, brandishing his bloody dagger, and calling on Cicero by name, to tell him that his country was free. *Cæsare interfecto,*

fecto, statim cruentum altè extollens Marcus Brutus pugionem, Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Philippic. ii. f. 28. The late Doctor Akenfide has retouched this passage, with all the colours of a sublime imagination.

Look then abroad through nature, through the range
Of planets, suns, and adamantine spheres,
Wheeling unshaken through the void immense,
And speak, O man! does this capacious scene
With half that kindling majesty dilate
Thy strong conception, as when Brutus rose
Refulgent from the stroke of Cæsar's fate,
Amid the crowd of patriots, and his arm
Aloft extending, like eternal Jove,
When guilt brings down the thunder, call'd aloud
On Tully's name, and shook his crimson steel,
And bade the father of his country hail!
For, lo! the tyrant prostrate in the dust,
And Rome again is free.

PLEASURES OF IMAG. b. i. ver. 487.

According to Quintilian, Brutus was fitter for philosophical speculations, and books of moral theory, than for the career of public oratory. In the former he was equal to the weight and dignity of his subject: you clearly saw that he believed what he said. *Egregius vero multoque quam in orationibus præstantior Brutus, suffecit ponderi rerum; scias eum sentire quæ dicit.* Quintil. lib. x. cap. i.

For Asinius Pollio and Messala, see section xii. note (e).

(e) Hirtius and Panfa were consuls A. U. C. 711; before the Christian æra 43. In this year, the famous *triple league*,
3 R 2 called

called the TRIUMVIRATE, was formed between Augustus, Lepidus, and Antony. The *proscription*, or the list of those who were doomed to die for the crime of adhering to the cause of liberty, was also settled, and Cicero was one of the number. A band of assassins went in quest of him to his villa, called *Astura*, near the sea-shore. Their leader was one Popilius Lænas, a military tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended with success in a capital cause. They overtook Cicero in his litter. He commanded his servants to set him down, and make no resistance; then looking upon his executioners with a presence and firmness which almost daunted them, and thrusting his neck as forward as he could out of the litter, he bade them *do their work, and take what they wanted*. The murderers cut off his head, and both his hands. Popilius undertook to convey them to Rome, as the most agreeable present to Antony; without reflecting on the *infamy of carrying that head, which had saved his own*. He found Antony in the forum, and, upon shewing the spoils which he brought, was rewarded upon the spot with the *honour of a crown, and about eight thousand pounds sterling*. Antony ordered the head to be *fixed upon the rostra, between the two hands*; a sad spectacle to the people, who beheld those mangled members, which used to exert themselves, from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of Rome. Cicero was killed on the seventh of December, about ten days from the settlement of the triumvirate, after he had lived *sixty-three years, eleven months, and five days*. See Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 495 to 498. Velleius Paterculus, after mentioning Cicero's death, breaks out in a strain of indignation, that almost redeems the character of that time-serving writer. He says to Antony, in a spirited apostrophe, you have no reason to exult: you have gained no point, by paying the assassin, who stopped that eloquent

eloquent mouth, and cut off that illustrious head. You have paid the wages of murder, and you have destroyed a consul, who was the conservator of the commonwealth. By that act, you delivered Cicero from a distracted world, from the infirmities of old age, and from a life, which, under your usurpation, would have been worse than death. His fame was not to be crushed: the glory of his actions and his eloquence still remains, and you have raised it higher than ever. He lives, and will continue to live in every age and nation. Posterity will admire and venerate the torrent of eloquence, which he poured out against yourself, and will for ever execrate the horrible murder, which you committed. *Nihil tamen egisti, Marce Antoni (cogit enim excedere propositi formam operis erumpens animo ac pectore indignatio): nihil, inquam, egisti; mercedem cælestissimi oris, et clarissimi capitis abscissi numerando; auctoramentoque funebri ad conservatoris quondam reipublicæ tantique consulis irritando necem. Rapuisti tu Marco Ciceroni lucem sollicitam, et ætatem senilem, et vitam miseriorem te principe, quam sub te triumviro mortem. Famam vero, gloriamque factorum atque dictorum adeo non abstulisti, ut auxeris. Vivit, vivetque per omnium sæculorum memoriam; omnisque posteritas illius in te scripta mirabitur, tuum in eum factum execrabitur.* Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. f. 66.

(f) Between the consulship of Augustus, which began immediately after the destruction of Hirtius and Panfa, A. U. C. 711, and the death of that emperor, which was A. U. 767, fifty-six years intervened, and to the sixth of Vespasian (A. U. C. 828), about 118 years. For the sake of a round number, it is called in the Dialogue a space of 120 years.

(g) Julius Cæsar landed in Britain in the years of Rome 699;
8 and

and 700. See *Life of Agricola*, f. xiii. note (a). It does not appear when Aper was in Britain; it could not be till the year of Rome 796, when Aulus Plautius, by order of the emperor Claudius, undertook the conquest of the island. See *Life of Agricola*, f. xiv. note (a). At that time, the Briton, who fought against Cæsar, must have been far advanced in years.

(b) A largess was given to the people, in the fourth year of Vespasian, when Domitian entered on his second consulship. This, Brotier says, appears on a medal, with this inscription: CONG. II. COS. II. *Congiarium alterum, Domitiano consule secundum*. The custom of giving large distributions to the people was for many ages established at Rome. Brotier traces it from Ancus Martius, the fourth king of Rome, when the poverty of the people called for relief. The like bounty was distributed by the generals, who returned in triumph. Lucullus and Julius Cæsar displayed, on those occasions, great pomp and magnificence. Corn, wine, and oil were plentifully distributed, and the popularity, acquired by those means, was, perhaps, the ruin of the commonwealth. Cæsar lavished money. Augustus followed the example, and Tiberius did the same; but prodigality was not his practice. His politic genius taught him all the arts of governing. The bounties thus distributed, were called, when given to the people, CONGIARIA, and, to the soldiers, DONATIVA. Whoever desires to form an idea of the number of Roman citizens, who, at different times, received largesses, and the prodigious expence attending them, may see an account drawn up with diligent attention by Brotier, in an elaborate note on this passage. He begins with Julius Cæsar; and pursues the enquiry through the several successive emperors, fixing the date and expence at every period, as low down as the consulship of

Constantine

Constantius and Galerius Maximianus ; when, the empire being divided into the eastern and western, its former magnificence was, by consequence, much diminished.

(i) The person here called Corvinus was the same as Corvinus Messala, who flourished in the reign of Augustus, at the same time with Asinius Pollio. See f. xii. note (e).

Section XVIII.

(a) Servius Sulpicius Galba was consul A. U. C. 610, before the Christian æra 144. Cicero says of him, that he was, in his day, an orator of eminence. When he spoke in public, the natural energy of his mind supported him, and the warmth of his imagination made him vehement and pathetic ; his language was animated, bold, and rapid ; but, when he, afterwards, took his pen in hand to correct and polish, the fit of enthusiasm was over ; his passions ebbed away, and the composition was cold and languid. *Galbam fortasse vis non ingenii solum, sed etiam animi, et naturalis quidam dolor, dicentem incendebat, efficiebatque, ut et incitata, et gravis, et vehemens esset oratio ; dein cum otiosus stilum prehenderat, motusque omnis animi, tanquam ventus, hominem defecerat, flaccescebat oratio. Ardor animi non semper adest, isque cum consedit, omnis illa vis, et quasi flamma oratoris extinguatur. De Claris Orat. f. 93.* Suetonius says, that the person here intended was of consular dignity, and, by his eloquence, gave weight and lustre to his family. *Life of Galba, f. iii.*

(b) Caius Papirius Carbo was consul A. U. C. 634. Cicero wishes that he had proved himself as good a citizen, as he was an orator. Being impeached for his turbulent and seditious conduct, he did not choose to stand the event of a trial, but escaped the judgment of the senate by a voluntary death. His life was
2 spent

spent in forensic causes. Men of sense, who heard him, have reported, that he was a fluent, animated, and harmonious speaker; at times pathetic, always pleasing, and abounding with wit. *Carbo, quoad vita suppeditavit, est in multis judiciis causisque cognitus. Hunc qui audierant prudentes homines, canorum oratorem, et volubilem, et satis acrem, atque eundem et vehementem, et valde dulcem, et perfacetum fuisse dicebant. De Claris Orat. f. 105.*

(c) Calvus and Cælius have been mentioned already. See f. xvii. note (c).

(d) Caius Gracchus was tribune of the people A. U. C. 633. In that character he took the popular side against the patricians; and, pursuing the plan of the Agrarian law laid down by his brother, Tiberius Gracchus, he was able by his eloquence to keep the city of Rome in violent agitation. Amidst the tumult, the senate, by a decree, ordered the consul, Lucius Opimius, to take care that the commonwealth received no injury; and, says Cicero, not a single night intervened, before that magistrate put Gracchus to death. *Decrevit senatus, ut Lucius Opimius, consul, videret, ne quid detrimenti respublica caperet: nox nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones Caius Gracchus, clarissimo patre natus, avis majoribus. Orat. i. in Catilinam.* His reputation as an orator towers above all his contemporaries. Cicero says, the commonwealth and the interests of literature suffered greatly by his untimely end. He wishes that the love of his country, and not zeal for the memory of his brother, had inspired his actions. His eloquence was such as left him without a rival: in his diction, what a noble splendour! in his sentiments, what elevation! and in the whole of his manner, what weight and dignity! His compositions, it is true, are not re-
touched

touched with care ; they want the polish of the last hand ; what is well begun, is seldom highly finished ; and yet he, if any one, deserves to be the study of the Roman youth. In him they will find what can, at once, quicken their genius, and enrich the understanding. *Damnum enim, illius immaturo interitu, res Romanæ, Latinæque literæ fecerunt. Utinam non tam fratri pietatem, quam patriæ præstare voluisset. Eloquentia quidem nescio an habuisset parem : grandis est verbis, sapiens sententiis, genere toto gravis. Manus extrema non accessit operibus ejus ; præclare inchoata multa, perfectæ non plane. Legendus est hic orator, si quisquam alius, juventuti ; non enim solum acuere, sed etiam alere ingenium potest. De Claris Orat. l. 125, 126.*

(e) This is the celebrated Marcus Portius Cato, commonly known by the name of Cato the censor. He was quæstor under Scipio, who commanded against the Carthaginians, A. U. C. 548. He rose through the regular gradations of the magistracy to the consulship. When prætor, he governed the province of Sardinia, and exerted himself in the reform of all abuses introduced by his predecessors. From his own person, and his manner of living, he banished every appearance of luxury. When he had occasion to visit the towns that lay within his government, he went on foot, clothed with the plainest attire, without a vehicle following him, or more than one servant, who carried the robe of office, and a vase, to make libations at the altar. He sat in judgment with the dignity of a magistrate, and punished every offence with inflexible rigour. He had the happy art of uniting in his own person two things almost incompatible ; namely, strict severity and sweetness of manners. Under his administration, justice was at once terrible and amiable. Plutarch relates that he never wore a dress that cost more than thirty shillings ; that his

wine was no better than what was consumed by his slaves ; and that, by leading a laborious life, he meant to harden his constitution for the service of his country. He never ceased to condemn the luxury of the times. On this subject a remarkable apothegm is recorded by Plutarch : *It is impossible, said Cato, to save a city, in which a single fish sells for more money than an ox.* The account given of him by Cicero in the Cato Major excites our veneration of the man. He was master of every liberal art, and every branch of science, known in that age. Some men rose to eminence by their skill in jurisprudence ; others by their eloquence ; and a great number by their military talents. Cato shone in all alike. The patricians were often leagued against him ; but his virtue and his eloquence were a match for the proudest connections. He was chosen CENSOR, in opposition to a number of powerful candidates, A. U. C. 568. He was the adviser of the third Punic war. The question occasioned several warm debates in the senate. Cato always insisted on the demolition of Carthage : *DELEND A EST CARTHAGO.* He preferred an accusation against Servius Sulpicius Galba on a charge of speculation in Spain, A. U. C. 603 ; and, though he was then ninety years old, according to Livy (Cicero says, he lived to eighty-five), he conducted the business with so much vigour, that Galba, in order to excite compassion, produced his children before the senate, and by that artifice escaped a sentence of condemnation. Quintilian gives the following character of Cato the censor : His genius, like his learning, was universal : historian, orator, lawyer, he cultivated the three branches ; and what he undertook, he touched with a master-hand. The science of husbandry was also his. Great as his attainments were, they were acquired in camps, amidst the din of arms ; and in the city of Rome, amidst scenes of contention, and the uproar of civil discord. Though
he

he lived in rude, unpolished times, he applied himself, when far advanced in the vale of years, to the study of Greek literature, and, thereby, gave a signal proof that even in old age the willing mind may be enriched with new stores of knowledge. *Marcus Censorius Cato, idem orator, idem hystoriæ conditor, idem juris, idem rerum rusticarum peritissimus fuit. Inter tot opera militiæ, tantas domi contentiones, rudi sæculo literas Græcas, ætate jam declinatâ didicit, ut esset hominibus documento, ea quoque percipi posse, quæ senes concupissent.* Lib. xii. cap. 11.

(f) Lucius Licinius Crassus is often mentioned, and always to his advantage, by Cicero DE CLARIS ORATORIBUS. He was born, as appears in that treatise (section 161), during the consulship of Lælius and Cæpio, A. U. 614: he was contemporary with Antonius, the celebrated orator, and father of Antony the triumvir. Crassus was about four-and-thirty years older than Cicero. When Philippus the consul shewed himself disposed to encroach on the privileges of the senate, and, in the presence of that body, offered indignities to Licinius Crassus, the orator, as Cicero informs us, broke out in a blaze of eloquence against that violent outrage, concluding with that remarkable sentence: He shall not be to me A CONSUL, to whom I am not A SENATOR. *Non es mihi consul, quia nec ego tibi senator sum.* See *Valerius Maximus*, lib. xli. cap. 2. Cicero has given his oratorical character. He possessed a wonderful dignity of language, could enliven his discourse with wit and pleasantry, never descending to vulgar humour; refined, and polished, without a tincture of scurrility. He preserved the true Latin idiom; in his selection of words accurate, with apparent facility; no stiffness, no affectation appeared; in his train of reasoning always clear and methodical; and, when the cause hinged upon a question of law, or the moral distinctions

distinctions of good and evil, no man possessed such a fund of argument, and happy illustration. *Crasso nihil statuo fieri potuisse perfectius : erat summa gravitas ; erat cum gravitate junctus facetiarum et urbanitatis oratorius, non scurrilis, lepos. Latine loquendi accurata, et, sine molestia, diligens elegantia ; in differendo mira explicatio ; cum de jure civili, cum de æquo et bono disputaretur, argumentorum et similitudinum copia. De Claris Orat. f. 143.* In Cicero's books DE ORATORE, Licinius Crassus supports a capital part in the dialogue ; but in the opening of the third book, we have a pathetic account of his death, written, as the Italians say, *con amore*. Crassus returned from his villa, where the dialogue passed, to take part in the debate against Philippus the consul, who had declared to an assembly of the people, that he was obliged to seek new counsellors, for with such a senate he could not conduct the affairs of the commonwealth. The conduct of Crassus, upon that occasion, has been mentioned already. The vehemence, with which he exerted himself, threw him into a violent fever, and, on the seventh day following, put a period to his life. Then, says Cicero, that tuneful swan expired : we hoped once more to hear the melody of his voice, and went, in that expectation, to the senate-house ; but all that remained was to gaze on the spot where that eloquent orator spoke for the last time in the service of his country. *Illud immortalitate dignum ingenium, illa humanitas, illa virtus Lucii Crassi morte extincta subita est, vix diebus decem post eum diem, qui hoc et superiore libro continentur. Illa tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox, et oratio, quam quasi expectantes, post ejus interitum, veniebamus in curiam, ut vestigium illud ipsum, in quo ille postremum institisset, contueremur. De Orat. lib. iii. f. 1 and 6.* This passage will naturally call to mind the death of the great Earl of Chatham. He went, in a feeble state of health, to attend a debate of the first importance.

Nothing

Nothing could detain him from the service of his country. The dying notes of the BRITISH SWAN were heard in the House of Peers. He was conveyed to his own house, and on the eleventh of May 1778, he breathed his last. The news reached the House of Commons late in the evening, when Colonel BARRE had the honour of being the first to shed a patriot tear on that melancholy occasion. In a strain of manly sorrow, and with that unprepared eloquence which the heart inspires, he moved for a funeral at the public expence, and a monument to the memory of virtue and departed genius. By performing that pious office, Colonel BARRE may be said to have made his own name immortal. History will record the transaction.

(g) Messala Corvinus is often, in this Dialogue, called CORVINUS only. See l. xii. note (e).

(b) Appius Claudius was censor in the year of Rome 442; dictator, 465; and, having at a very advanced age lost his sight, he became better known by the name of APPIUS CÆCUS. Afterwards, A. U. 472, when Pyrrhus, by his ambassador, offered terms of peace, and a treaty of alliance, Appius, whom blindness, and the infirmities of age, had for some time withheld from public business, desired to be conveyed in a litter to the senate-house. Being conducted to his place, he delivered his sentiments in so forcible a manner, that the fathers resolved to prosecute the war, and never to hear of an accommodation, till Italy was evacuated by Pyrrhus and his army. See Livy, b. xiii. l. 31. Cicero relates the same fact in his CATO MAJOR, and further adds, that the speech made by APPIUS CÆCUS was then extant. Ovid mentions the temple of Bellona, built and dedicated by Appius, who, when blind, saw every thing by the light of his understanding,

standing, and rejected all terms of accommodation with Pyrrhus.

Hac sacrata die Tusco Bellona duello
Dicitur, et Latio prospera semper adest.
Appius est auctor, Pyrrho qui pace negata
Multum animo vidit, lumine cæcus erat.

FASTORUM, lib. vi. ver. 201.

(i) Quintilian acknowledges this fact, with his usual candour.* The question concerning ATTIC and ASIATIC eloquence was of long standing. The style of the former was close, pure, and elegant; the latter was said to be diffuse and ostentatious. In the ATTIC, nothing was idle, nothing redundant: the ASIATIC swelled above all bounds, affecting to dazzle by strokes of wit, by affectation and superfluous ornament. Cicero was said by his enemies to be an orator of the last school. They did not scruple to pronounce him turgid, copious to a fault, often redundant, and too fond of repetition. His wit, they said, was the false glitter of vain conceit, frigid, and out of season; his composition was cold, and languid; wire-drawn into amplification, and fuller of meretricious finery than became a man. *Et antiqua quidem illa divisio inter Asianos et Atticos fuit; cum hi pressi, et integri, contra, inflati illi et inanes haberentur; et in his nihil superflueret, illis judicium maximè ac modus deesset. Ciceronem tamen et suorum homines temporum incessere audebant ut tumidiorem, et Asianum, et redundantem, et in repetitionibus nimium, et in salibus aliquando frigidum, et in compositione fractum, exultantem, ac penè (quod procul absit) viro molliorem.* Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 10. The same author adds, that, when the great orator was cut off by Marc Antony's proscription, and could no longer answer for himself, the men who either personally hated him, or envied his genius, or chose to pay their court to the triumvirate, poured forth their

malignity without reserve. It is unnecessary to observe, that Quintilian, in sundry parts of his work, has vindicated Cicero from these aspersions. See f. xvii. note (b).

(k) For Calvus, see f. xvii. note (c). For Brutus, see the same section, note (d). What Cicero thought of Calvus has been already quoted from the tract *De Claris Oratoribus*, in note (c), f. xvii. By being too severe a critic on himself, he lost strength, while he aimed at elegance. It is, therefore, properly said in this Dialogue, that Cicero thought Calvus cold and enervated. But did he think Brutus disjointed, loose and negligent—*otiosum atque disjunctum*? That he often thought him disjointed is not improbable. Brutus was a close thinker, and he aimed at the precision and brevity of Attic eloquence. The sententious speaker is, of course, full and concise. He has no studied transitions, above the minute care of artful connections. To discard the copulatives for the sake of energy was a rule laid down by the best ancient critics. Cicero has observed that an oration may be said to be disjointed, when the copulatives are omitted, and strokes of sentiment follow one another in quick succession. *Dissolutio sive disjunctio est, quæ conjunctionibus e medio sublatis, partibus separatis effertur, hoc modo: Gere morem parenti; pare cognatis; obsequere amicis; obtempera legibus. Ad Herennium, lib. iv. f. 41.* In this manner, Brutus might appear disjointed, and that figure, often repeated, might grow into a fault. But how is the word OTIOSUS to be understood? If it means a neglect of connectives, it may, perhaps, apply to Brutus. There is no room to think that Cicero used it in a worse sense, since we find him in a letter to ATTICUS declaring, that the oratorical style of Brutus was, in language as well as sentiment, elegant to a degree that nothing could surpass. *Est enim oratio ejus scripta elegantissime,*

tiffimè, sententiis et verbis, ut nihil possit ultra. A grave philosopher, like Brutus, might reject the graces of transition and regular connection, and, for that reason, might be thought negligent and abrupt. The disjointed style which the French call *style coupé*, was the manner cultivated by Seneca, for which Caligula pronounced him, sand without lime; *arenam sine calce.* Sueton. *Life of Calig.* l. 53. We know from Quintilian, that a spirit of emulation, and even jealousy, subsisted between the eminent orators of Cicero's time; that he himself was so far from ascribing perfection to Demosthenes, that he used to say, he often found him napping; that Brutus and Calvus sat in judgment on Cicero, and did not wish to conceal their objections; and that the two Pollios were so far from being satisfied with Cicero's style and manner, that their criticisms were little short of declared hostility. *Quamquam neque ipsi Ciceroni Demosthenes videatur satis esse perfectus, quem dormire interdum dicit; nec Cicero Bruto Calvoque, qui certè compositionem illius etiam apud ipsum reprehendunt; ne Asinio utrique, qui vitia orationis ejus etiam inimicè pluribus locis insequuntur.* Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 1.

Section XIX.

(a) Cassius Severus lived in the latter end of the reign of Augustus, and through a considerable part of that of Tiberius. He was an orator, according to Quintilian, who, if read with due caution, might serve as a model worthy of imitation. It is to be regretted, that to the many excellent qualities of his style he did not add more weight, more strength, and dignity, and thereby give colour and a body to his sentiments. With those requisites, he would have ranked with the most eminent orators. To his excellent genius he united keen reflection, great energy, and a peculiar url anity, which gave a secret charm to his speeches. But

the warmth of his temper hurried him on ; he listened more to his passions than to his judgment ; he possessed a vein of wit, but he mingled with it too much acrimony ; and wit, when it misses its aim, feels the mortification and the ridicule, which usually attend disappointed malice. *Multa, si cum judicio legatur, dabit imitatione digna* CASSIUS SEVERUS, *qui, si cæteris virtutibus colorem et gravitatem orationis adjecisset, ponendus inter præcipuos foret. Nam et ingenii plurimum est in eo, et acerbitas mira, et urbanitas, et vis summa ; sed plus stomacho quàm consilio dedit ; præterea ut amari sales, ita frequenter amaritudo ipsa ridicula est.* Lib. x. cap. 1. We read in Suetonius (*Life of Octavius*, f. 56), that Cassius had the hardiness to institute a prosecution for the crime of poisoning against Asprenas Nonius, who was, at the time, linked in the closest friendship with Augustus. Not content with accusations against the first men in Rome, he chose to vent his malevolence in lampoons and defamatory libels, against the most distinguished of both sexes. It was this that provoked Horace to declare war against Cassius, in an ode (lib. v. ode 6), which begins *Quid immerentes hospites vexas, canis*. See an account of his malevolent spirit, *Annals*, b. i. f. 72. He was at length condemned for his indiscriminate abuse, and banished by Augustus to the isle of Crete. But his satirical rage was not to be controlled. He continued in exile to discharge his malignity, till, at last, at the end of ten years, the senate took cognizance of his guilt, and Tiberius ordered him to be removed from Crete to the Rock of Seriphos, where he languished in old age and misery. See *Annals*, b. iv. f. 21. The period of ancient oratory ended about the time when Cassius began his career. He was the first of the new school.

(b) These two rhetoricians flourished in the time of Augustus.

gustus. Apollodorus, we are told by Quintilian (b. iii. chap. 1), was the preceptor of Augustus. He taught in opposition to Theodorus Gadareus, who read lectures at Rhodes, and was attended by Tiberius during his retreat in that island. The two contending masters were the founders of opposite sects, called the *Apollodorean* and *Theodorian*. But true eloquence, which knows no laws but those of nature and good sense, gained nothing by party-divisions. Literature was distracted by new doctrines; rhetoric became a trick in the hands of sophists, and all sound oratory disappeared. Hermagoras, Quintilian says, in the chapter already cited, was the disciple of Theodorus.

Section XX.

(a) Doctor Middleton says, "Of the seven excellent orations, which now remain on the subject of VERRES, the two first only were spoken; the one called, *The Divination*; the other, *The first Action*, which is nothing more than a general preface to the whole cause. The other five were published afterwards, as they were prepared and intended to be spoken, if VERRES had made a regular defence: for as this was the only cause, in which Cicero had yet been engaged, or ever designed to be engaged, as an *accuser*, so he was willing to leave those orations as a specimen of his abilities in that way, and the *pattern of a just and diligent impeachment of a great and corrupt magistrate*." *Life of Cicero*, vol. i. p. 86, 4to edit.

(b) The Digest enumerates a multitude of rules, concerning *exceptions* to persons, things, the form of the action, the niceties of pleading, and, as the phrase is, motions in arrest of judgment. *Formula*, was the set of words necessary to be used in the pleadings. See the *Digest*, lib. xlv. tit. 1. *De Exceptionibus, Præscriptionibus, et Præjudiciis*. See also Cujacius, *Observat.* xxiii.

(c) The

(c) The oration for Marcus Tullius is highly praised by Macrobius, but is not to be found in Cicero's works. The oration for Aulus Cæcina is still extant. The cause was about the right of succession to a private estate, which depended on a subtle point of law, arising from the interpretation of the prætor's interdiction. It shews Cicero's exact knowledge and skill in the civil law, and that his public character and employment gave no interruption to his usual diligence in pleading causes. Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, vol. i. p. 116, 4to edit.

(d) Roscius, in the last period of the republic, was the comedian, whom all Rome admired for his talents. The great esteemed and loved him for his morals. Æsop, the tragedian, was his contemporary. Horace, in the epistle to Augustus, has mentioned them both with their proper and distinctive qualities.

—————Ea cum reprehendere coner
 QUÆ GRAVIS ÆSOPUS, QUÆ DOCTUS ROSCIUS egit.

A certain measured gravity of elocution being requisite in tragedy, that quality is assigned to the former, and the latter is called DOCTUS, because he was a complete master of his art; so truly learned in the principles of his profession, that he possessed, in a wonderful degree, the secret charm that gave inimitable graces to his voice and action. Quintilian, in a few words, has given a commentary on the passage in Horace. Grief, he says, is expressed by slow and deliberate accents; for that reason, Æsop spoke with gravity; Roscius with quickness; the former being a tragedian, the latter a comedian. *Plus autem affectus habent lentiora: ideoque Roscius citatior, Æsopus gravior fuit, quod ille comædias, hic tragædias egit.* Lib. xi. cap. 1. Cicero was the

great friend and patron of Roscius. An elegant oration in his behalf is still extant. The cause was this: One FANNIUS had made over to Roscius a young slave, to be formed by him to the stage, on condition of a partnership in the profits which the slave should acquire by acting. The slave was afterwards killed. Roscius prosecuted the murderer for damages, and obtained, by composition, a little farm, worth about eight hundred pounds, for his particular share. FANNIUS also sued separately, and was supposed to have gained as much; but, pretending to have recovered nothing, he sued ROSCIUS for the moiety of what he had received. One cannot but observe, says Dr. Middleton, from Cicero's pleading, the wonderful esteem and reputation in which Roscius then flourished. Has Roscius, says he, defrauded his partner? Can such a stain stick upon such a man; a man, who, I speak it with confidence, has more integrity than skill, more veracity than experience? a man, whom the people of Rome know to be a better citizen than he is an actor; and, while he makes the first figure on the stage for his art, is worthy of a seat in the senate for his virtue. *Quem populus Romanus meliorem virum quam histrionem esse arbitratur; qui ita dignissimus est scenâ propter artificium, ut dignissimus sit curiâ propter abstinentiam. Pro Roscio Comædo, f. 17.* In another place, Cicero says, he was such an artist, as to seem the only one fit to appear on the stage; yet such a man, as to seem the only one who should not come upon it at all. *Cum artifex ejusmodi sit, ut solus dignus videatur esse qui in scenâ spectetur; tum vir ejusmodi est, ut solus dignus videatur, qui eo non accedat. Pro Publ. Quinctio, f. 78.* What Cicero has said in his pleadings might be thought oratorical, introduced merely to serve the cause, if we did not find the comedian praised with equal warmth in the dialogue DE ORATORE. It is there said of Roscius, that every thing he did, was perfect
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in the kind, and executed with consummate grace, with a secret charm, that touched, affected, and delighted the whole audience; insomuch, that when a man excelled in any other profession, it was grown into a proverb to call him, THE ROSCIUS OF HIS ART. *Videtisne, quam nihil ab eo nisi perfectè, nihil nisi cum summâ venustate fiat? nihil, nisi ita ut deceat, et uti omnes moveat, atque delectet? Itaque hoc jam diu est consecutus, ut in quo quisque artificio excelleret, is in suo genere Roscius diceretur. De Orat. lib i. f. 130.* After so much honourable testimony, one cannot but wonder why the DOCTUS ROSCIUS of Horace is mentioned in this Dialogue with an air of disparagement. It may be, that APER, the speaker in this passage, was determined to degrade the orators of antiquity; and the comedian was, therefore, to expect no quarter. Dacier, in his notes on the Epistle to Augustus, observes that Roscius wrote a book, in which he undertook to prove to Cicero, that in all the stores of eloquence there were not so many different expressions for one and the same thing, as in the dramatic art there were modes of action, and casts of countenance, to mark the sentiment, and convey it to the mind with its due degree of emotion. It is to be lamented that such a book has not come down to us. It would, perhaps, be more valuable than the best treatise of rhetoric.

Ambivius Turpio acted in most of Terence's plays, and seems to have been a manager of the theatre. Cicero, in the treatise *De Senectute*, says: He, who sat near him in the first rows, received the greatest pleasure; but still, those, who were at the further end of the theatre, were delighted with him. *Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur, qui in primâ cavâ spectat; delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultimâ.*

(e) ACCIUS

(c) ACCIUS and PACUVIUS flourished at Rome about the middle of the sixth century from the foundation of the city. ACCIUS, according to Horace, was held to be a poet of a sublime genius, and Pacuvius (who lived to be ninety years old) was respected for his age, and profound learning.

Ambigitur quoties uter utro sit prior, aufert
PACUVIUS docti famam senis, ACCIUS alti.

EPIST. AD AUG. ver. 56.

Velleius Paterculus says, that ACCIUS was thought equal to the best writers of the Greek tragedy. He had not, indeed, the diligent touches of the polishing hand, which we see in the poets of Athens; but he had more spirit and vigour. *Accius isque in Græcorum comparationem erectus. In illis limæ, in hoc penè plus videri fuisse sanguinis.* He is often quoted by Cicero in his book *De Natura Deorum*. But after all, it is from the great critic, who gives the best account of the Roman poets, orators, and historians, that we are to take the genuine character of ACCIUS and PACUVIUS, since their works are lost in the general mass of ancient literature. They were both excellent tragic poets: elevation of sentiment, grandeur of expression, and dignity of character stamped a value on their productions; and yet, we must not expect to find the grace and elegance of genuine composition. To give the finishing hand to their works was not their practice: the defect, however, is not to be imputed to them; it was the vice of the age. Force and dignity are the characteristics of ACCIUS; while the critics, who wish to be thought deep and profound, admire PACUVIUS for his extensive learning. *Tragædiæ scriptores Accius atque Pacuvius, clarissimi sententiarum verborumque pondere, et auctoritate personarum. Cæterum nitor, et summa*

summa in excolendis operibus manus, magis videri potest temporibus, quam ipsis defuisse. Virium tamen Accio plus tribuitur; Pacuvium videri doctiorem, qui esse docti affectant, volunt. Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1. It was the fashion in Horace's time to prefer the writers of the old school to the new race that gave so much lustre to the Augustan age. In opposition to such erroneous criticism, the poet pronounces a decided judgment, which seems to be confirmed by the opinion of Quintilian.

Si quædam nimis antiquè, si pleraque durè
Dicere credit eos, ignavè multa fatetur,
Et sapit, et mecum facit, et Jove judicat æquo.

EPIST. AD AUGUST. ver. 66.

But that sometimes their style uncouth appears,
And their harsh numbers rudely hurt our ears;
Or that full flatly flows the languid line,
He, who owns this, has Jove's assent and mine.

FRANCIS'S HORACE.

(f) Lucan was nephew to Seneca, and a poet of great celebrity. He was born, in the reign of Caligula, at Corduba in Spain. His superior genius made Nero his mortal enemy. He was put to death by that inhuman emperor, A. U. C. 818, in the twenty-seventh year of his age. See the *Annals*, b. xv. f. 70. As a writer, Quintilian says, that he possessed an ardent genius, impetuous, rapid, and remarkable for the vigour of his sentiments: but he chooses to class him with the orators, rather than the poets. *Lucanus ardens, et concitatus, et sententiis clarissimus; et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis annumerandus.* Lib. x. cap. 1. Scaliger, on the other hand, contends that Lucan was a true poet, and that the critics do but trifle, when they

they object that he wrote history, not an epic poem. STRADA, in his Prolusions, has given, among other imitations, a narrative in Lucan's manner; and, though he thinks that poet has not the skill of Virgil, he places him on the summit of Parnassus, managing his Pegasus with difficulty, often in danger of falling from the ridge of a precipice, yet delighting his reader with the pleasure of seeing him escape. This is the true character of Lucan. The love of liberty was his ruling passion. It is but justice to add, that his sentiments, when free from *antithesis* and the *Ovidian* manner, are not excelled by any poet of antiquity. From him, as well as from Virgil and Horace, the orator is required to cull such passages as will help to enrich his discourse; and the practice is recommended by Quintilian, who observes, that Cicero, Asinius Pollio, and others, frequently cited verses from Ennius, Accius, Pacuvius, and Terence, in order to grace their speeches with polite literature, and enliven the imagination of their hearers. By those poetic insertions, the ear is relieved from the harsh monotony of the forum; and the poets, cited occasionally, serve by their authority to establish the proposition advanced by the speaker. *Nam præcipue quidem apud Ciceronem, frequenter tamen apud Asinium etiam, et cæteros, qui sunt proximi, vidimus ENNII, ACCII, PACUVII, TERENTII et aliorum inseri versus, summâ non eruditionis modò gratiâ, sed etiam jucunditatis; cum poeticis voluptatibus aures a fœrensi asperitate respirent, quibus accedit non mediocris utilitas, cum sententiis eorum, velut quibusdam testimoniis, quæ proposuere confirmant.* Quintil. lib. i. cap. 8.

Section XXI.

(a) There is in this place a blunder of the copyists, which almost makes the sentence unintelligible. The translator, with-

out

out entering into minute controversies, has, upon all such occasions, adopted what appeared, from the context, to be the most probable sense. It remains, therefore, to enquire, who were the several orators here enumerated. CANUTIUS may be the person mentioned by Suetonius *De Claris Rhetoribus*. Cicero says of ARRIUS, that he was a striking proof of what consequence it was at Rome to be useful to others, and always ready to be subservient to their honour, or to ward off danger. For, by that assiduity, Arrius raised himself from a low beginning to wealth and honours, and was even ranked in the number of orators, though void of learning, and without genius, or abilities. *Loco infimo natus, et honores, et pecuniam, et gratiam consecutus, etiam in patronorum, sine doctrinâ, sine ingenio, aliquem numerum pervenerat.* *De Claris Orat.* l. 243. FURNIUS may be supposed, not without probability, to be the person with whom Cicero corresponded. *Epist. ad Familiares*, lib. x. ep. 25, 26. With regard to Terrianus we are left in the dark. The commentators offer various conjectures; but conjecture is often a specious amusement; the ingenious folly of men, who take pains to bewilder themselves, and reason only to shew their useless learning.

(b) The puny orators are said to be in an infirmary, like sickly men, who were nothing but skin and bone. These, says Cicero, were admirers of the Attic manner; but it were to be wished that they had the wholesome blood, not merely the bones of their favourite declaimers. *Attico genere dicendi se gaudere dicunt; atque utinam imitarentur nec ossa solum, sed etiam et sanguinem.* Cicero *De Claris Oratoribus*.

(c) What is here said of Calvus is not confirmed by the
 VOL. IV. 3 U judg-

judgment of Quintilian. See f. xvii. note (c). His Orations, which were extant at the time of this Dialogue, are now totally lost.

(d) For Quintilian's opinion of Cælius, see f. xvii. note (c).

e) Here again Quintilian, that candid and able judge, has given a different opinion. See f. xvii. note (b). It may be proper to add the testimony of Velleius Paterculus. Cæsar, he says, had an elevation of soul, that towered above humanity, and was almost incredible : the rapid progress of his wars, his firmness in the hour of danger, and the grandeur of his vast conceptions, bore a near affinity to Alexander, but to Alexander neither drunk, nor mad with passion. *Animo super humanam et naturam, et fidem evectus, celeritate bellandi, patientiâ periculorum, magnitudine cogitationum ; magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo, simillimus. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. f. 41.* Even Cicero tells us, that, of all the eminent orators, he was the person who spoke the Latin language in the greatest purity, and arrived at that consummate perfection by study, by diligent application, and his thorough knowledge of all polite literature. *Illum omnium ferè oratorum Latinè loqui elegantissimè : ut esset perfecta illa benè loquendi laus, multis litteris, et iis quidem reconditis et exquisitis, summoque studio et diligentia est consecutus. De Claris Orat. f. 252.*

(f) Cæsar's speech for Decius the Samnite, and all his other productions (except the Commentaries), are totally lost.

(g) This speech of Brutus is also lost with his other works. Cicero says, he heard him plead the cause of Dejotarus with great elegance, and a flow of harmonious periods. *Causam Dejotari,*

Dejotari, fidelissimi atque optimi regis, ornatissimè et copiosissimè a Bruto me audisse defensam. De Claris Orat. f. 21. He tells us, in another place, that Cæsar observed of Brutus, that whatever he desired, he desired with ardour; and therefore, in the cause of Dejotarus, he exerted himself with warmth, with vehemence, and great freedom of language. *Quidquid vult, valdè vult; ideoque, cum pro rege Dejotaro dixerit, valdè vehementer eum visum, et liberè dicere. Ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 1.* The same Dejotarus was, afterwards, defended by Cicero before Cæsar himself. See the Oration *pro Rege Dejotaro*.

(b) See what is said of Asinius Pollio, f. xii. note (c).

(i) Pliny the younger has the same metaphorical allusions, which we here find in the Dialogue. Speaking of the difference between the oratorical and historical style; the latter, he says, may be content with the bones, the muscles and the nerves; the former must have the prominence of the flesh, the brawny vigour, and the flowing mane. *Habent quidem oratio et historia multa communia, sed plura diversa in his ipsis, quæ communia videntur. Narrat sane illa, narrat hæc, sed aliter. Huic pleraque humilia, et sordida, et ex medio petita: illi omnia recondita, splendida, excelsa conveniunt. Hanc sæpius ossa, musculi, nervi; illam tori quidam, et quasi jubæ decent. Lib. v. epist. 8.*

(k) Messala Corvinus has been often mentioned. See for him f. xii. note (c).

Section XXII.

(a) The words *sententia* and *sensus* were technical terms with the critics of antiquity. Quintilian gives the distinct mean-

ing of each, with his usual precision. According to the established usage, the word *sensus* signified our ideas or conceptions, as they rise in the mind: by *sententia* was intended, a proposition, in the close of a period, so expressed, as to dart a sudden brilliancy, for that reason called *lumen orationis*. He says, these artificial ornaments, which the ancients used but sparingly, were the constant practice of the modern orators. *Consuetudo jam tenuit, ut mente concepta, SENSUS vocaremus; lumina autem, præcipuèque in clausulis posita, SENTENTIAS. Quæ minus crebra apud antiquos, nostris temporibus modo carent. Lib. viii. cap. 5.* These luminous sentences, Quintilian says, may be called the eyes of an oration; but eyes are not to be placed in every part, lest the other members should lose their function. *Ego vero hæc lumina orationis velut oculos quosdam esse eloquentiæ credo: sed neque oculos esse toto corpore velim, ne cætera membra suum officium perdant. Lib. viii. cap. 5.* As Cowley says,

Jewels at nose and lips but ill appear;
Rather than all things wit, let none be there.

(b) In order to form a good style, the sentence should always be closed with variety, strength, and harmony. The ancient rhetoricians held this to be so essentially requisite, that Quintilian has given it a full discussion. That, he says, which offends the ear, will not easily gain admission to the mind. Words should be fitted to their places, so that they may aptly coalesce with one another. In building, the most ill shapen stones may be conveniently fixed; and in like manner, a good style must have proper words in proper places, all arranged in order, and closing the sentence with grace and harmony. *Nihil intrare potest in affectum, quod in aure, velut quodam vestibulo, statim offendit. Non enim ad pedes verba dimensa sunt; ideoque ex loco transferuntur*

tur in locum, ut jungantur quo congruunt maximè ; sicut in structurâ saxorum rudium etiam ipsa enormitas invenit cui applicari, et in quo possit insistere. Felicissimus tamen sermo est, cui et rectus ordo, et apta junctura, et cum his numerus opportunè cadens contingit. Quintil. lib. ix. cap. 4.

Section XXIII.

(a) The remark in this place alludes to a passage in the oration against Piso, where we find a frivolous stroke of false wit. Cicero reproaches Piso for his dissolute manners, and his scandalous debauchery. Who, he says, in all that time, saw you sober? Who beheld you doing any one thing, worthy of a liberal mind? Did you once appear in public? The house of your colleague resounded with songs and minstrels: he himself danced naked in the midst of his wanton company; and while he *wheeled* about with alacrity in the *circular motion* of the dance, he never once thought of THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE. *Quis te illis diebus sobrium, quis agentem aliquid, quod esset libero dignum? Quis denique in publico vidit? Cum collegæ tui domus cantu et cymbalis personaret; cumque ipse nudus in convivio saltaret, in quo ne tum quidem, cum illum suum SALTATORIUM VERSARET ORBEM, FORTUNE ROTAM pertimescebat. Oratio in Pisonem, prima pars, f. 22. Delph. edit. vol. iii.*

(b) The passage, here alluded to, presents us with a double pun. The word *Verres* is the name of a man, and also signifies a *boar-pig*, as we read in Horace, *Verris obliquum meditantis ictum*. Lib. iii. ode 22. The word *jus* is likewise of twofold meaning, importing *law*, and *sauce*, or broth; *tepidumque ligurierit jus*. Lib. i. sat. 3. The objection to Cicero is, that playing on both the words, and taking advantage of their ambiguous meaning,

meaning, he says it could not be matter of wonder that the *Verrian jus* was such bad HOG-SOUP. The wit (if it deserves that name) is mean enough; but, in justice to Cicero, it should be remembered, that he himself calls it frigid, and says, that the men, who in their anger could be so very facetious, as to blame the priest who did not sacrifice such a hog (*Verres*), were idle and ridiculous. He adds, that he should not descend to repeat such sayings (for they were neither witty, nor worthy of notice in such a cause), had he not thought it material to shew, that the iniquity of *VERRES* was, in the mouth of the vulgar, a subject of ridicule, and a proverbial joke. *Hinc illi homines erant, qui etiam ridiculi inveniebantur ex dolore; quorum alii, ut audistis, negabant mirandum esse, JUS tam nequam esse VERRINUM; alii etiam frigidiores erant; sed quia stomachabantur, ridiculi videbantur esse, cum SACERDOTEM execrabantur, qui VERREM tam nequam reliquisset. Quæ ego non commemorarem (neque enim perfacetè dicta, neque porro hac severitate digna sunt) nisi vos id vellem recordari, istius nequitiam et iniquitatem tum in ore vulgi, atque communibus proverbiiis esse versatam. In Verrem, lib. i. pars tertia, f. 121.*

(c) Quintilian acknowledges that the words *esse videatur* (*it seems to be*) occur frequently in Cicero's Orations. He adds, that he knew several, who fancied that they had performed wonders, when they placed that phrase in the close of a sentence. *Noveram quosdam, qui se pulchrè expressisse genus illud cælestis hujus in dicendo viri sibi viderentur, si in clausulâ posuissent esse videatur. Quintil. lib. x. cap. 2.*

(d) The species of composition, called satire, was altogether of Roman growth. Lucilius had the honour of being the inventor; and he succeeded so well, that, even in Quintilian's time,

his

his admirers preferred him not only to the writers, who followed in the same way, but to all poets of every denomination. *Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet imitatores, ut eum non ejusdem modo operis, sed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent.* Lib. x. cap. 1. The great critic, however, pronounces judgment in favour of Horace, who, he says, is more terse and pure; a more acute observer of life, and qualified by nature to touch the ridicule of the manners with the nicest hand. *Multo est tersior, ac purus magis Horatius, et ad notandos hominum mores præcipuus.*

(e) Lucretius is not without his partisans at this hour. Many of the French critics speak of him with rapture; and, in England, Dr. Wharton of Winchester seems to be at the head of his admirers. He does not scruple to say that Lucretius had more spirit, fire and energy, more of the *vivida vis animi*, than any of the Roman poets. It is neither safe nor desirable to differ from so fine a genius as Dr. Wharton. The passages, which he has quoted from his favourite poet, shew great taste in the selection. It should be remembered, however, that Quintilian does not treat Lucretius with the same passionate fondness. He places Virgil next to Homer; and the rest, he says, of the Roman poets follow at a great distance. MACER and LUCRETIVS deserve to be read: they have handled their respective subjects with taste and elegance; but Macer has no elevation, and Lucretius is not easily understood. *Cæteri omnes longe sequuntur. Nam MACER et LUCRETIVS legendi quidem; elegantes in suâ quisque materiâ, sed alter humilis, alter difficilis.* Lib. x. cap. 1. Statius, the poet, who flourished in the reign of Domitian, knew the value of Lucretius, and, in one line, seems to have given his true character; *et docti furor arduus Lucreti*: but had he been to decide
between

between him and Virgil, it is probable, that he would say to Lucretius, as he did to himself,

————Nec tu divinam Æneida tenta,
Sed longe sequere, et vestigia semper adora.

THEBAIDOS, lib. xii. ver. 816.

(f) Aufidius Bassus and Servilius Nonianus were writers of history. Bassus, according to Quintilian, deserved great commendation, particularly in his History of the German War. In some of his other works he fell short of himself. Servilius Nonianus was known to Quintilian, and, in that critic's judgment, was an author of considerable merit, sententious in his manner, but more diffuse than becomes the historic character. See Quintilian, lib. x. cap. 1. The death of SERVILIUS, an eminent orator and historian, is mentioned by Tacitus in the *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 19; but the additional name of NONIANUS is omitted. The passage, however, is supposed to relate to the person commended by Quintilian. He died in the reign of Nero, A. U. C. 812; of the Christian æra 59.

(g) Varro was universally allowed to be the most learned of the Romans. He wrote on several subjects with profound erudition. Quintilian says, he was completely master of the Latin language, and thoroughly conversant in the antiquities of Greece and Rome. His works will enlarge our sphere of knowledge, but can add nothing to eloquence. *Peritissimus linguæ Latinæ, et omnis antiquitatis, et rerum Græcarum, nostrarumque; plus tamen scientiæ collaturus, quam eloquentiæ.* Lib. x. cap. 1.

Sifenna, we are told by Cicero, was a man of learning, well skilled in the Roman language, acquainted with the laws and constitution

constitution of his country, and possessed of no small share of wit ; but eloquence was not his element, and his practice in the forum was inconsiderable. See *De Claris Oratoribus*, f. 228. In a subsequent part of the same work, Cicero says, that Sifenna was of opinion, that to use uncommon words was the perfection of style. To prove this, he relates a pleasant anecdote. One Caius Rufius carried on a prosecution. Sifenna appeared for the defendant ; and, to express his contempt of his adversary, said that many parts of the charge deserved to be spit upon. For this purpose he coined so strange a word, that the prosecutor implored the protection of the judges. I do not, said he, understand Sifenna ; I am circumvented ; I fear, that some snare is laid for me : What does he mean by *sputatilica* ? I know that *sputa* is spittle ; but what is *tilica* ? The court laughed at the oddity of a word so strangely compounded. *Rufio accusante Chritilium, Sifenna defendens dixit, quædam ejus SPUTATILICA esse crimina. Tum Caius Rufius, Circumvenior, inquit, judices, nisi subvenitis. Sifenna quid dicat nescio ; metuo insidias. SPUTATILICA ! quid est hoc ? Sputa quid sit, scio ; tilica nescio. Maximi risus. De Claris Oratoribus, f. 260.* Whether this was the same Sifenna, who is said in the former quotation to have been a correct speaker, does not appear with any degree of certainty.

(b) For the character of Secundus, see f. ii. note (c).

(i) Quintilian says, the merit of a fine writer flourishes after his death, for envy does not go down to posterity. *Ad posteroros enim virtus durabit, nec perveniet invidia.* Lib. iii. cap. 1. Envy is always sure to pursue living merit ; and, therefore, Cleo observes to Alexander, that Hercules and Bacchus were not numbered among the gods, till they conquered the malignity of their

contemporaries. *Nec Herculem, nec Patrem Liberum prius dicatos deos, quam vicissent secum viventium invidiam.* Quintus Curtius, lib. viii. f. 18. Pliny the younger has a beautiful epistle on this subject. After praising, in the highest manner, the various works of Pompeius Saturninus, he says to his correspondent, Let it be no objection to such an author, that he is still living. If he flourished in a distant part of the world, we should not only procure his books, but we should have his picture in our houses: and shall his fame be tarnished, because we have the man before our eyes? Shall malignity make us cease to admire him, because we see him, hear him, esteem and love him? *Neque enim debet operibus ejus obesse, QUOD VIVIT. An si inter eos, quos nunquam vidimus, florisset, non solum libros ejus, verum etiam imagines conquireremus; ejusdem nunc honor præsentis et gratia quasi satietate languescet? At hoc pravum malignumque est, non admirari hominem admiratione dignissimum, quia videre, alloqui, audire, complecti, nec laudare tantum, verum etiam amare contingit.* Lib. i. ep. 16.

Section XXIV.

(a) In the Dialogues of Plato, and others of the academic school, the ablest philosophers occasionally supported a wrong hypothesis, in order to provoke a thorough discussion of some important question.

(b) Cicero was killed on the seventh of December, in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, A. U. C. 711; before Christ, 43. From that time to the sixth of Vespasian the number of years is exactly 117, though in the Dialogue said to be 120. See f. xvii. note (e).

Section XXV.

(a) See Plutarch's Lives of Lyfias, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, and Hyperides. See also the elegant translation of the Orations of Lyfias, by Dr. Gillies.

(b) For Quintilian's opinion of Cæsar's eloquence, see f. xvii. note (b). To what is there said may be added the authority of Cicero, who fairly owns, that Cæsar's constant habit of speaking his language with purity and correctness, exempted him from all the vices of the corrupt style adopted by others. To that politeness of expression (which every well-bred citizen, though he does not aspire to be an orator, ought to practise) when Cæsar adds the splendid ornaments of eloquence, he may then be said to place the finest pictures in the best light. In his manner there is nothing mechanical, nothing of professional craft; his voice is impressive, and his action dignified. To all these qualities he unites a certain majesty of mien and figure, that bespeaks a noble mind. *Cæsar autem rationem adhibens, consuetudinem vitiosam et corruptam purâ et incorruptâ consuetudine emendat. Itaque cum ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum (quæ etiam si orator non sis, et sis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen necessaria est) adjungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi; tum videtur tanquam tabulas benè pictas collocare in bono lumine. Hanc cum habeat præcipuam laudem in communibus, non video cui debeat cedere. Splendidam quamdam, minimeque veteratoriam rationem dicendi tenet, voce, motu: formâ etiam magnificâ, et generosâ quodammodo. De Claris Oratoribus, f. 261.*

For Cælius, see f. xvii. note (c); and for Brutus, the same section, note (d).

(c) Servius Galba has been already mentioned, f. xviii. note (a). Caius Lælius was consul A. U. C. 614; before the Christian æra, 140. He was the intimate friend of Scipio, and the patron of Lucilius, the first Roman satirist. See Horace, lib. ii. sat. i. ver. 71.

Quin ubi se a vulgo et scenâ in secreta remôrant
Virtus Scipiadæ, et mitis sapientia Læli,
Nugari cum illo, et discincti ludere, donec
Decoqueretur olus, soliti.

When Scipio's virtue, and of milder vein
When Lælius' wisdom, from the busy scene:
And crowd of life, the vulgar and the great,
Could with their favourite satirist retreat,
Lightly they laugh'd at many an idle jest,
Until their frugal feast of herbs was drest.

FRANCIS'S HORACE.

It is probable, that the harsh manner of Lucilius, *durus componere versus*, infected the eloquence of Lælius, since we find in Cicero, that his style was unpolished, and had much of the rust of antiquity. *Multo tamen vetustior et horridior ille quam Scipio, et, cum sint in dicendo variæ voluntates, delectari mihi magis antiquitate videtur, et lubenter verbis etiam uti paulo magis priscis Lælius.* *De Claris Oratoribus*, f. 83.

Section XXVI.

- (a) For an account of Caius Gracchus, see f. xviii. note (d).
(b) For Lucius Crassus, see f. xviii. note (f).
(c) The false taste of Mæcenas has been noted by the poets
and

and critics who flourished after his death. His affected prettinesses are compared to the prim curls, in which women and effeminate men tricked out their hair. Seneca, who was himself tainted with affectation, has left a beautiful epistle on the very question, that makes the main subject of the present Dialogue. He points out the causes of the corrupt taste, that debauched the eloquence of those times, and imputes the mischief to the degeneracy of the manners. Whatever the man was, such was the orator. *Talis oratio qualis vita.* When ancient discipline relaxed, luxury succeeded, and language became delicate, brilliant, spangled with conceits. Simplicity was laid aside, and quaint expressions grew into fashion. Does the mind sink into languor? the body moves reluctantly. Is the man softened into effeminacy? you see it in his gait. Is he quick and eager? he walks with alacrity. The powers of the understanding are affected in the same manner. Having laid this down as his principle, Seneca proceeds to describe the soft delicacy of Mæcenas, and he finds the same vice in his phraseology. He cites a number of the lady-like terms, which the great patron of letters considered as exquisite beauties. In all this, says he, we see the man, who walked the streets of Rome in his open and flowing robe. *Nonne statim, cum hæc legis, occurrit hunc esse, qui solutis tunicis in urbe semper incessest?* Seneca, epist. cxiv. What he has said of Mæcenas is perfectly just. The fopperies of that celebrated minister are in this Dialogue called CALAMISTRI; an allusion borrowed from Cicero, who praises the beautiful simplicity of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, and says there were men of a vicious taste, who wanted to apply the *curling-iron*, that is, to introduce the glitter of conceit and antithesis in the place of truth and nature. *Commentarios quosdam scripsit rerum suarum, valde quidem probandos: nudi enim sunt, et recti, et venusti, omni ornatu orationis,*

tanquam veste, detracto. Ineptis gratum fortasse fecit, qui volunt illa CALAMISTRIS inurere. Cicero De Claris Orat. f. 262.

(d) Who Gallio was, is not clearly settled by the commentators. Quintilian, lib. iii. cap. 1, makes mention of Gallio, who wrote a treatise of eloquence; and in the *Annals*, b. xv. f. 73, we find Junius Gallio, the brother of Seneca; but whether either of them is the person here intended, remains uncertain. Whoever he was, his eloquence was a tinkling cymbal. Quintilian says of such orators, who are all inflated, tumid, corrupt, and jingling, that their malady does not proceed from a full and rich constitution, but from mere infirmity; for

As in bodies, thus in souls we find,
What wants in blood and spirits, swell'd with wind.

Nam tumidos, et corruptos, et tinnulos, et quocumque alio cacozeliæ genere peccantes, certum habeo, non virium, sed infirmitatis vitio laborare: ut corpora non robore, sed valetudine inflantur. Quintilian, lib. ii. cap. 3.

(e) Pliny declares, without ceremony, that he was ashamed of the corrupt effeminate style that disgraced the courts of justice, and made him think of withdrawing from the forum. He calls it sing-song, and says that nothing but musical instruments could be added. *Pudet referre, quæ quam fractâ pronuntiatione dicantur; quibus quam teneris clamoribus excipiantur. Plausus tantum, ac sola cymbala et tympana illis canticis desunt.* Pliny, lib. ii. epist. 14. The chief aim of Persius in his first satire is levelled against the bad poets of his time, and also the spurious orators, who enervated their eloquence by antithesis, far-fetched metaphors, and points

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points of wit, delivered with the softest tone of voice, and ridiculous airs of affectation.

Fur es, ait Pedio : Pedius quid ? Crimina raris
 Librat in antithetis ; doctus posuisse figuras
 Laudatur. Bellum hoc ! hoc bellum ? an Romule ceves ?
 Men' moveat quippe, et cantet si naufragus, assem
 Protulerim ? Cantas, cum fractâ te in trabe pictum
 Ex humero portes ? PERSIUS, sat. i. ver. 85.

Theft, says th' accuser, to thy charge I lay,
 O Pedius : what does gentle Pedius say ?
 Studious to please the genius of the times,
 With periods, points, and tropes he flurs his crimes.
 He lards with flourishes his long harangue :
 'Tis fine, say'st thou : what, to be prais'd, and hang ?
 Effeminate Roman ! shall such stuff prevail,
 To tickle thee, and make thee wag thy tail ?
 Say, should a shipwreck'd sailor sing his woe,
 Wouldst thou be mov'd to pity, and bestow
 An alms ? What's more preposterous than to see
 A merry beggar ? Wit in misery ? DRYDEN'S PERSIUS.

(f) For Cassius Severus, see s. xix. note (a).

(g) Gabinianus was a teacher of rhetoric in the reign of Vespasian. Eusebius, in his Chronicon, eighth of Vespasian, says, that Gabinianus, a celebrated rhetorician, was a teacher of eloquence in Gaul. *Gabinianus, celeberrimi nominis rhetor, in Galliâ docuit.* His admirers deemed him another Cicero, and, after him, all such orators were called CICERONES GABINIANI.

Section XXVIII.

(a) In order to brand and stigmatise the Roman matrons,
who

who committed the care of their infant children to hired nurses, Tacitus observes, that no such custom was known among the savages of Germany. See *Manners of the Germans*, f. xx. See also Quintilian, on the subject of education, lib. i. cap. 2 and 3.

(b) Cornelia, the mother of the two Gracchi, was daughter to the first Scipio Africanus. The sons, Quintilian says, owed much of their eloquence to the care and institutions of their mother, whose taste and learning were fully displayed in her letters, which were then in the hands of the public. *Nam Gracchorum eloquentiæ multum contulisse accepimus Corneliam matrem, cujus doctissimus sermo in posteros quoque est epistolis traditus.* Quint. lib. i. cap. 1. To the same effect Cicero: *Fuit Gracchus diligentia Cornelie matris a puero doctus, et Græcis litteris eruditus.* *De Claris Orat.* f. 104. Again, Cicero says, we have read the letters of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, from which it appears, that the sons were educated, not so much in the lap of their mother, as her conversation. *Legimus epistolas Cornelie, matris Gracchorum: apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos, quam in sermone matris.* *De Claris Orat.* f. 211. Pliny the elder informs us that a statue was erected to her memory, though Cato the censor declaimed against shewing so much honour to women, even in the provinces. But with all his vehemence he could not prevent it in the city of Rome. Pliny, lib. xxxiv. f. 14.

(c) For Aurelia, the mother of Julius Cæsar, see in vol. ii. of this work *The Genealogical Table of the Cæsars*, No. 2.

(d) For Atia, the mother of Augustus, see *Genealogical Table of the Cæsars*, No. 14. As another instance of maternal care,
Tacitus

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Tacitus informs us that Julia Procilla superintended the education of her son. See *Life of Agricola*, l. iv.

Section XXIX.

(a) Quintilian thinks the first elements of education so highly material, that he has two long chapters on the subject. He requires, in the first place, that the language of the nurses should be pure and correct. Their manners are of great importance, but, he adds, let them speak with propriety. It is to them that the infant first attends; he listens, and endeavours to imitate them. The first colour, imbibed by yarn or thread, is sure to last. What is bad, generally adheres tenaciously. Let the child, therefore, not learn in his infancy, what he must, afterwards, take pains to unlearn. *Ante omnia, ne sit vitiosus sermo nutricibus. Et morum quidem in his haud dubiè prior ratio est; rectè tamen etiam loquantur. Has primùm audiet puer; harum verba effingere in-itando conabitur. Et naturâ tenacissimi sumus eorum, quæ rudibus annis percipimus; nec lanarum colores, quibus simplex ille candor mutatus est, elui possunt. Et hæc ipsa magis pertinaciter hærent, quæ deteriora sunt. Non assuescat ergo, ne dum infans quidem est, sermoni, qui dediscendus est.* Quint. lib. i. cap. i. Plutarch has a long discourse on the breeding of children, in which all mistakes are pointed out, and the best rules enforced with great acuteness of observation.

(b) Juvenal has one entire satire on the subject of education:

Nil dictu fœdum visuque hæc limina tangat,
Intra quæ puer est. Procul hinc, procul inde puellæ
Lenonum, et cantus pernoctantis parasiti.
Maxima debetur puero reverentia.

SAT. xiv. ver. 44.

Suffer no lewdness, no indecent speech
 Th' apartment of the tender youth to reach.
 Far be from thence the glutton parasite,
 Who sings his drunken catches all the night.
 Boys from their parents may this rev'rence claim.

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

(c) The rage of the Romans for the diversions of the theatre, and public spectacles of every kind, is often mentioned by Horace, Juvenal, and other writers under the emperors. Seneca says, that, at one time, three ways were wanted to as many different theatres: *tribus eodem tempore theatris viæ postulatur*. And again, the most illustrious of the Roman youth are no better than slaves to the pantomimic performers. *Ostendam nobilissimos juvenes mancipia pantomimorum*. Epist. 47. It was for this reason that Petronius lays it down as a rule to be observed by the young student, never to lift himself in the parties and factions of the theatre:

—————Neve plaufor in scenâ
 Sedeat redemptus, histrionix addictus.

It is well known, that theatrical parties distracted the Roman citizens, and rose almost to phrensy. They were distinguished by the *green* and the *blue*. Caligula, as we read in Suetonius, attached himself to the former, and was so fond of the charioteers, who wore green liveries, that he lived for a considerable time in the stables, where their horses were kept. *Prasinæ factioni ita addictus et deditus, ut cœnaret in stabulo assidue et maneret*. *Life of Caligula*, f. 55. Montesquieu reckons such party-divisions among the causes that wrought the downfall of the empire. Constantinople, he says, was split into two factions, the *green* and the *blue*; which owed their origin to the inclination of the people

people to favour one set of charioteers in the circus rather than another. These two parties raged in every city throughout the empire, and their fury rose in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Justinian favoured the *blues*, who became so elate with pride, that they trampled on the laws. All ties of friendship, all natural affection, and all relative duties were extinguished. Whole families were destroyed; and the empire was a scene of anarchy and wild contention. He, who felt himself capable of the most atrocious deeds, declared himself a BLUE, and the GREENS were massacred with impunity. *Montesquieu, Grandeur et Décadence des Romains, chap. xx.*

(d) Quintilian, in his tenth book, chap. 1, has given a full account of the best Greek and Roman poets, orators and historians; and in b. ii. ch. 6, he draws up a regular scheme for the young student to pursue in his course of reading. There are, he says, two rocks, on which they may split. The first, by being led by some fond admirer of antiquity to set too high a value on the manner of Cato and the Gracchi; for, in that commerce, they will be in danger of growing dry, harsh, and rugged. The strong conception of those men will be beyond the reach of tender minds. Their style, indeed, may be copied; and the youth may flatter himself, when he has contracted the rust of antiquity, that he resembles the illustrious orators of a former age. On the other hand, the florid decorations and false glitter of the moderns may have a secret charm, the more dangerous, and seductive, as the petty flourishes of our new way of writing may prove acceptable to the youthful mind. *Duo autem genera maximè cavenda pueris puto: unum, ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum, Catonisque, et aliorum similium lectione durescere velit. Erunt enim horridi atque jejuni. Nam neque vim eorum adhuc in-*

tellektu consequentur ; et elocutione, quæ tum sine dubio erat optima, sed nostris temporibus aliena, contenti, quod est pessimum, similes sibi magnis viris videbuntur. Alterum, quod huic diversum est, ne recentis hujus lasciviæ flosculis capti, voluptate quâdam pravâ deliniantur, ut prædulce illud genus, et puerilibus ingeniis hoc gratius, quo propius est, adamant. Such was the doctrine of Quintilian. His practice, we may be sure, was consonant to his own rules. Under such a master the youth of Rome might be initiated in science, and formed to a just taste for eloquence, and legitimate composition ; but one man was not equal to the task. The rhetoricians and pedagogues of the age preferred the novelty and meretricious ornaments of the style then in vogue.

Section XXX.

(a) This is the treatise, or history of the most eminent orators (*DE CLARIS ORATORIBUS*), which has been so often cited in the course of these notes. It is also entitled *BRUTUS* ; a work replete with the soundest criticism, and by its variety and elegance always charming.

(b) Quintus Mucius Scævola was the great lawyer of his time. Cicero draws a comparison between him and Crassus. They were both engaged, on opposite sides, in a cause before the *CENTUMVIRI*. Crassus proved himself the best lawyer among the orators of that day, and Scævola the most eloquent of the lawyers. *Ut eloquentium juris peritissimus Crassus ; jurisperitorum eloquentissimus Scævola putaretur.* *De Claris Orat.* l. 145. During the consulship of Sylla, A. U. C. 666, Cicero, being then in the nineteenth year of his age, and wishing to acquire a competent knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence, attached himself to Mucius Scævola, who did not undertake the task of instructing

instructing pupils, but, by conversing freely with all, who consulted him, gave a fair opportunity to those, who thirsted after knowledge. *Ego autem juris civilis studio, multum operæ dabam* 2. *Scævola, qui quamquam nemini se ad docendum dabat, tamen, consulentibus respondendo, studiosos audiendi docebat. De Claris Orat. f. 306.*

(c) Philo was a leading philosopher of the academic school. To avoid the fury of Mithridates, who waged a long war with the Romans, he fled from Athens, and, with some of the most eminent of his fellow-citizens, repaired to Rome. Cicero was struck with his philosophy, and became his pupil. *Cum princeps academæ Philo, cum Atheniensium optimatibus, Mithridatico bello, domo profugisset, Romamque venisset, totum ei me tradidi, admirabili quodam ad philosophiam studio concitatus. De Claris Orat. f. 306.*

Cicero adds, that he gave board and lodging, at his own house, to Diodotus the stoic, and, under that master, employed himself in various branches of literature, but particularly in the study of logic, which may be considered as a mode of eloquence, contracted, close, and nervous. *Eram cum stoico Diodoto : qui cum habitavisset apud me, mecumque vixisset, nuper est domi meæ mortuus. A quo, cum in aliis rebus, tum studiosissime in dialecticâ exercebar, quæ quasi contracta et adstricta eloquentia putanda est. De Claris Orat. f. 309.*

(d) Cicero gives an account of his travels, which he undertook, after having employed two years in the business of the forum, where he gained an early reputation. At Athens, he passed six months with Antiochus, the principal philosopher of the

the old academy, and, under the direction of that able master, resumed those abstract speculations which he had cultivated from his earliest youth. Nor did he neglect his rhetorical exercises. In that pursuit, he was assisted by Demetrius, the Syrian, who was allowed to be a skilful preceptor. He passed from Greece into Asia; and, in the course of his travels through that country, he lived in constant habits with Menippus of Stratonica; a man eminent for his learning; who, if to be neither frivolous, nor unintelligible, is the character of Attic eloquence, might be fairly called a disciple of that school. He met with many other professors of rhetoric, such as Dionysius of Magnesia, Æschylus of Cnidos, and Zenocles of Adramytus; but not content with their assistance, he went to Rhodes, and renewed his friendship with MOLO, whom he had heard at Rome, and knew to be an able pleader in real causes; a fine writer, and a judicious critic, who could, with a just discernment of the beauties as well as the faults of a composition, point out the road to excellence, and improve the taste of his scholars. In his attention to the Roman orator, the point he aimed at (Cicero will not say that he succeeded) was, to lop away superfluous branches, and confine within its proper channel a stream of eloquence, too apt to swell above all bounds, and overflow its banks. After two years thus spent in the pursuit of knowledge, and improvement in his oratorical profession, Cicero returned to Rome, almost a new man. *Is (MOLO) dedit operam (si modo id consequi potuit) ut nimis redundantes nos, et superfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate, et licentiâ, reprimeret, et quasi extra ripas diffuentes coerceret. Ita recepi me biennio post, non modo exercitior, sed propè mutatus.* See *De Claris Oratoribus*, f. 315 and 316.

(e) Cicero is here said to have been a complete master of philosophy,

losofhy, which, according to Quintilian, was divided into three branches, namely, phyfics, ethics, and logic. It has been mentioned in this fection, note (*c*), that Cicero called logic a contracted and clofe mode of eloquence. That obfervation is fully explained by Quintilian. Speaking of logic, the ufe, he fays, of that contentious art, confifts in juft definition, which prefents to the mind the precise idea ; and in nice difcrimination, which marks the effential difference of things. It is this faculty that throws a fudden light on every difficult queftion, removes all ambiguity, clears up what was doubtful, divides, develops, and feparates, and then collects the argument to a point. But the orator muft not be too fond of this clofe combat. The minute attention, which logic requires, will exclude what is of higher value ; while it aims at precision, the vigour of the mind is loft in fubtlety. We often fee men, who argue with wonderful craft ; but, when petty controverfy will no longer ferve their purpofe, we fee the fame men without warmth or energy, cold, languid, and unequal to the conflict ; like thofe little animals, which are brisk in narrow places, and by their agility baffle their purfuers, but in the open field are foon overpowered. *Hæc pars dialectica, five illam dicere malimus disputatricem, ut eft utilis sæpe et finitionibus, et comprehensionibus, et feparandis quæ funt differentia, et refolvendâ ambiguitate, et diftinguendo, dividendo, illiciendo, implicando ; ita fi totum fibi vindicaverit in foro certamen, obftabit melioribus, et fectas ad tenuitatem vires ipfâ fubtilitate confumet. Itaque reperias quofdam in difputando mirè callidos ; cum ab illâ verò cavillatione difcefferint, non magis fufficere in aliquo graviore actu, quam parva quædam animalia, quæ in anguftiis mobilia, campo deprehenduntur.* Quint. lib. xii. cap. 2.

Ethics, or moral philofophy, the fame great critic holds to be
indif-

indispensably requisite. *Jam quidem pars illa moralis, quæ dicitur Ethice, certè tota oratori est accommodata. Nam in tantâ causarum varietate, nulla ferè dici potest, cujus non parte aliquâ tractatus æqui et boni reperiantur.* Lib. xii. Unless the mind be enriched with a store of knowledge, there may be loquacity, but nothing that deserves the name of oratory. Eloquence, says Lord Bolingbroke, must flow like a stream that is fed by an abundant spring, and not spout forth a little frothy stream, on some gaudy day, and remain dry for the rest of the year. See *Spirit of Patriotism*.

With regard to natural philosophy, Quintilian has a sentiment so truly sublime, that to omit it in this place would look like insensibility. If, says he, the universe is conducted by a superintending Providence, it follows that good men should govern the nations of the earth. And if the soul of man is of cœlestial origin, it is evident that we should tread in the paths of virtue, all aspiring to our native source, not slaves to passion, and the pleasures of the world. These are important topics; they often occur to the public orator, and demand all his eloquence. *Nam si regitur providentiâ mundus, administranda certè bonis viris erit respublica. Si divina nostris animis origo, tendendum ad virtutem, nec voluptatibus terreni corporis serviendum. An hoc non frequenter tractabit orator?* Quint. lib. xii. cap. 2.

Section XXXI.

(a) Quintilian, as well as Seneca, has left a collection of school-declamations, but he has given his opinion of all such performances. They are mere imitation, and, by consequence, have not the force and spirit, which a real cause inspires. In public harangues, the subject is founded in reality; in declamations, all
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is fiction. *Omnis imitatio ficta est; quo fit ut minus sanguinis ac virium declamationes habeant, quam orationes; quod in his vera, in illis assimulata materia est.* Lib. x. cap. 2. Petronius has given a lively description of the rhetoricians of his time. The consequence, he says, of their turgid style, and the pompous swell of sounding periods, has ever been the same: when their scholars enter the forum, they look as if they were transported into a new world. The teachers of rhetoric have been the bane of all true eloquence. *Hæc ipsa tolerabilia essent, si ad eloquentiam ituris viam facerent: nunc et rerum tumore, et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu, hoc tantum proficiunt, ut quum in forum venerint, putent se in alium terrarum orbem delatos.* *Pace vestrâ liceat dixisse, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidistis.* Petron. in *Satyrico*, cap. 1 and 2. That gay writer, who passed his days in luxury and voluptuous pleasures (see his character, *Annals*, b. xvi. f. 18), was, amidst all his dissipation, a man of learning, and, at intervals, of deep reflection. He knew the value of true philosophy, and, therefore, directs the young orator to the Socratic school, and to that plan of education which we have before us in the present Dialogue. He bids his scholar begin with Homer, and there drink deep of the Pierian spring: after that, he recommends the moral system, and, when his mind is thus enlarged, he allows him to wield the arms of Demosthenes.

Det primos versibus annos,
 Mæoniumque bibat felici pectore fontem:
 Mox et Socratico plenus grege mutet habenas
 Liber, et ingentis quatiat Demosthenis arma.

(b) Cicero has left a book, entitled *TOPICA*, in which he treats at large of the method of finding proper arguments. This, he observes, was executed by Aristotle, whom he pronounces

the great master both of invention and judgment. *Cum omnis ratio diligens differendi duas habeat partes; unam INVENIENDI, alteram JUDICANDI; utriusque princeps, ut mihi quidem videtur, Aristoteles fuit.* Ciceronis *Topica*, f. vi. The sources, from which arguments may be drawn, are called **LOCI COMMUNES**, **COMMON PLACES**. To supply the orator with ample materials, and to render him copious on every subject, was the design of the Greek preceptor, and for that purpose he gave his **TOPICA**. *Aristoteles adolescentes, non ad philosophorum morem tenuiter differendi, sed ad copiam rhetorum in utramque partem, ut ornatius et uberius dici posset, exercuit; idemque locos (sic enim appellat) quasi argumentorum notas tradidit, unde omnis in utramque partem traheretur oratio.* Cicero, *De Oratore*. Aristotle was the most eminent of Plato's scholars; he retired to a *gymnasium*, or place of exercise, in the neighbourhood of Athens, called the *Lyceum*, where, from a custom, which he and his followers observed, of discussing points of philosophy, as they walked in the *porticos* of the place, they obtained the name of *Peripatetics*, or the walking philosophers. See Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, vol. ii. p. 537, 4to edit.

(c) The academic sect derived its origin from Socrates, and its name from a celebrated *gymnasium*, or place of exercise, in the suburbs of Athens, called the *Academy*, after *Ecademus*, who possessed it in the time of the *Tyndaridæ*. It was afterwards purchased, and dedicated to the public, for the convenience of walks and exercises for the citizens of Athens. It was gradually improved with plantations, groves and porticos for the particular use of the professors or masters of the academic school; where several of them are said to have spent their lives, and to have resided so strictly, as scarce ever to have come within the city.

See

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See Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 536. Plato, and his followers, continued to reside in the porticos of the academy. They chose

—————The green retreats
Of Academus, and the thymy vale,
Where oft enchanted with Socratic sounds,
Ilyffus pure devolv'd his tuneful stream
In gentle murmurs. AKENSIDE, PLEAS. OF IMAG.

For dexterity in argument, the orator is referred to this school, for the reason given by Quintilian, who says that the custom of supporting an argument on either side of the question, approaches nearest to the orator's practice in forensic causes. *Academiam quidam utilissimam credunt, quod mos in utramque partem differendi ad exercitationem forensium causarum proximè accedat.* Lib. xii. cap. 2. Quintilian assures us that we are indebted to the academic philosophy for the ablest orators, and it is to that school that Horace sends his poet for instruction :

Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ,
Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.
ARS POET. ver. 310.

Good sense, that fountain of the muse's art,
Let the rich page of Socrates impart ;
And if the mind with clear conception glow,
'The willing words in just expressions flow.
FRANCIS'S HORACE.

(d) Epicurus made frequent use of the rhetorical figure, called exclamation ; and in his Life, by Diogenes Laertius, we find a variety of instances. It is for that manner of giving animation to a discourse that Epicurus is mentioned in the Dialogue. For the rest, Quintilian tells us what to think of him. Epicurus,

he says, dismisses the orator from his school, since he advises his pupil to pay no regard to science or to method. *Epicurus imprimis nos a se ipse dimittit, qui fugere omnem disciplinam navigatione quam velocissima jubet.* Lib. xii. cap. 2. Metrodorus was the favourite disciple of Epicurus. Brotier says that a statue of the master and the scholar, with their heads joined together, was found at Rome in the year 1743.

It is worthy of notice, that, except the stoics, who, without aiming at elegance of language, argued closely and with vigour, Quintilian proscribes the remaining sects of philosophers. Aristippus, he says, placed his *summum bonum* in bodily pleasure, and, therefore, could be no friend to the strict regimen of the accomplished orator. Much less could Pyrrho be of use, since he doubted whether there was any such thing in existence as the judges, before whom the cause must be pleaded. To him the party accused, and the senate, were alike non-entities. *Neque vero Aristippus, summum in voluptate corporis bonum ponens, ad hunc nos laborem adhortetur. Pyrrho quidem, quas in hoc opere partes habere potest? cui judices esse apud quos verba faciat, et reum pro quo loquatur, et senatum, in quo sit dicenda sententia, non liquebat.* Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 2.

Section XXXII.

(a) We are told by Quintilian, that Demosthenes, the great orator of Greece, was an assiduous hearer of Plato: *Constat Demosthenem, principem omnium Græciæ oratorum dedisse operam Platoni.* Lib. xii. cap. 2. And Cicero expressly says, that, if he might venture to call himself an orator, he was made so, not by the manufacture of the schools of rhetoric, but in the walks of the Academy. *Fateor me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam qui-*

cumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiae spatiis extitisse. Ad Brutum Orator, f. xii.

Section XXXIII.

(a) The ancient critics made a wide distinction between a mere facility of speech, and what they called the oratorical faculty. This is fully explained by Asinius Pollio, who said of himself, that, by pleading at first with propriety, he succeeded so far as to be often called upon; by pleading frequently, he began to lose the propriety with which he set out; and the reason was, by constant practice he acquired rashness, not a just confidence in himself; a fluent facility, not the true faculty of an orator. *Commodè agendo factum est, ut sæpè agerem; sæpè agendo, ut minus commodè; quia scilicet nimia facilitas magis quam facultas, nec fiducia, sed temeritas, paratur.* Quintilian, lib. xii.

Section XXXIV.

(a) There is in this place a trifling mistake, either in Messala, the speaker, or in the copyists. Crassus was born A. U. C. 614. See f. xviii. note (f). Papirius Carbo, the person accused, was consul A. U. C. 634, and the prosecution was in the following year, when Crassus expressly says, that he was then one-and-twenty. *Quippe qui omnium maturimè ad publicas causas accesserim, annosque natus UNUM ET VIGINTI, nobilissimum hominem et eloquentissimum in judicium vocarim.* Cicero, *De Orat.* lib. iii. f. 74. Pliny the consul was another instance of early pleading. He says himself, that he began his career in the forum at the age of nineteen, and, after long practice, he could only see the functions of an orator as it were in a mist. *Undevicesimo ætatis anno dicere in foro cæpi, et nunc demum, quid præstare debeat orator, adhuc tamen per caliginem video.* Lib. v. epist. 8. Quintilian relates

relates of Cæsar, Calvus, and Pollio, that they all three appeared at the bar, long before they arrived at their quæstorian age, which was seven-and-twenty. *Calvus, Cæsar, Pollio multum ante quæstorianam omnes ætatem gravissima judicia susceperunt.* Quint. lib. xii. cap. 6.

Section XXXV.

(a) Lipsius, in his note on this passage, says, that he once thought the word *scena* in the text ought to be changed to *schola*; but he afterwards saw his mistake. The place of fictitious declamation and spurious eloquence, where the teachers played a ridiculous part, was properly called a theatrical scene.

(b) Lucius Licinius Crassus and Domitius Ænobarbus were censors A. U. C. 662. Crassus himself informs us, that, for two years together, a new race of men, called rhetoricians, or masters of eloquence, kept open schools at Rome, till he thought fit to exercise his censorian authority, and by an edict to banish the whole tribe from the city of Rome; and this, he says, he did, not, as some people suggested, to hinder the talents of youth from being cultivated, but to save their genius from being corrupted, and the young mind from being confirmed in shameful ignorance. Audacity was all the new masters could teach; and this being the only thing to be acquired on that stage of impudence, he thought it the duty of a Roman censor to crush the mischief in the bud. *Latini (si diis placet) hoc biennio magistri dicendi extiterunt; quos ego censor edicto meo sustuleram; non quo (ut nescio quos dicere aiebant) acui ingenia adolescentium nollem, sed, contra, ingenia obtundi nolui, corroborari impudentiam. Hos vero novos magistros nihil intelligebam posse docere, nisi ut auderent. Hoc cum unum traderetur, et cum impudentiæ ludus esset, putavi esse censoris,*

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ne longius id serperet, providere. *De Orat.* lib. iii. f. 93 and 94. Aulus Gellius mentions a former expulsion of the rhetoricians, by a decree of the senate, in the consulship of Fannius Strabo and Valerius Messala, A. U. C. 593. He gives the words of the decree, and also of the edict, by which the teachers were banished by Crassus, several years after. See *A. Gellius, Noctes Atticæ*, lib. xv. cap. 2. See also Suetonius, *De Claris Rhet.* f. i.

(c) Seneca has left a collection of declamations in the two kinds, viz. the persuasive, and controversial. See his *SUASORIÆ*, and *CONTROVERSIÆ*. In the first class, the questions are, Whether Alexander should attempt the Indian ocean? Whether he should enter Babylon, when the augurs denounced impending danger? Whether Cicero, to appease the wrath of Marc Antony, should burn all his works? The subjects in the second class are more complex. A priestess was taken prisoner by a band of pirates, and sold to slavery. The purchaser abandoned her to prostitution. Her person being rendered venal, a soldier made his offers of gallantry. She desired the price of her prostituted charms; but the military man resolved to use force and influence, and she stabbed him in the attempt. For this she was prosecuted, and acquitted. She then desired to be restored to her rank of priestess: that point was decided against her. These instances may serve as a specimen of the trifling declamations, into which such a man as Seneca was betrayed by his own imagination. Petronius has described the literary farce of the schools. Young men, he says, were there trained up in folly, neither seeing nor hearing any thing that could be of use in the business of life. They were taught to think of nothing, but pirates loaded with fetters on the sea-shore; tyrants by their edicts commanding sons to murder their fathers; the responses of oracles demanding

demanding a sacrifice of three, or more virgins, in order to abate an epidemic pestilence. All these discourses, void of common sense, are tricked out in the gaudy colours of exquisite eloquence, soft, sweet, and seasoned to the palate. In this ridiculous boys-play the scholars trifle away their time; they are laughed at in the forum, and, still worse, what they learn in their youth they do not forget at an advanced age. *Ego adolescentulos existimo in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil ex iis, quæ in usu habemus, aut audiunt aut vident; sed piratas cum catenis in littore stantes, et tyrannos edicta scribentes, quibus imperent filiis, ut patrum suorum capita præcidant; sed responsa in pestilentia data, ut virgines tres aut plures immolentur, sed mellitos verborum globos, et omnia dicta factaque quasi papavere et sesamo sparsa. Nunc pueri in scholis ludunt; juvenes ridentur in foro; et, quod utroque turpius est, quod quisque perperam discit, in senectute confiteri non vult.* Petron. in *Satyrico*, cap. 3 and 4.

(d) Here unfortunately begins a chasm in the original. The words are, *Cum ad veros judices ventum est, * * * rem cogitare * * * nihil humile, nihil abjectum eloqui poterat.* This is unintelligible. What follows from the words, *magna eloquentia sicut flamma*, palpably belongs to Maternus, who is the last speaker in the Dialogue. The whole of what Secundus said is lost. The expedient has been to divide the sequel between Secundus and Maternus; but that is mere patch-work. We are told, in the first section of the Dialogue, that the several persons present spoke their minds, each in his turn assigning different, but probable causes, and at times agreeing on the same. There can, therefore, be no doubt but Secundus took his turn in the course of the enquiry. Of all the editors of Tacitus, Brotier is the only one, who has adverted to this circumstance. To supply the

the loss, as well as it can now be done by conjecture, that ingenious commentator has added a Supplement, with so much taste, and such a degree of probability, that it has been judged proper to adopt what he has added. The thread of the discourse will be unbroken, and the reader, it is hoped, will prefer a regular continuity to a mere vacant space. The inverted commas in the margin of the text will mark the supplemental part, as far as section xxxvi. where the Original proceeds to the end of the Dialogue. The sections of the Supplement will be marked, for the sake of distinction, with figures, instead of the Roman numeral letters.

S U P P L E M E N T.

Section 1.

(a) PETRONIUS says, You may as well expect, that the person, who is for ever shut up in a kitchen, should be sweet and fresh, as that young men, trained up in such absurd and ridiculous interludes, should improve their taste or judgment. *Qui inter hæc nutriuntur, non magis sapere possunt, quam benè olere, qui in culinâ habitant.* Petronius, in *Satyrico*, l. ii.

Section 2.

(a) The means, by which an orator is nourished, formed, and raised to eminence, are here enumerated. These are the requisites, that lead to that distinguished eloquence, which is finely described by Petronius, when he says, a sublime oration,

but sublime within due bounds, is neither deformed with affectation, nor turgid in any part, but, depending on truth and simplicity, rises to unaffected grandeur. *Grandis, et, ut ita dicam, pudica oratio, non est maculosa, nec turgida, sed naturali pulchritudine exsurgit.* Petronius, in *Satyricon*, f. 2.

Section 3.

(a) Maternus engaged, for himself and Secundus, that they would communicate their sentiments: see f. xvi. In consequence of that promise, Messala now calls upon them both. They have already declared themselves admirers of ancient eloquence. It now remains to be known, whether they agree with Messala as to the cause, that occasioned a rapid decline; or, whether they can produce new reasons of their own.

Section 4.

(a) Secundus proceeds to give his opinion. This is managed by Brotier with great art and judgment, since it is evident in the original text that Maternus closed the debate. According to what is said in the introduction to the Dialogue, Secundus agrees with Messala upon most points, but still assigns different, but probable, reasons. A revolution, he says, happened in literature; a new taste prevailed, and the worst models were deemed worthy of imitation. The emotions of the heart were suppressed. Men could no longer yield to the impulse of genius. They endeavoured to embellish their composition with novelty; they sparkled with wit, and amused their readers with point, antithesis, and forced conceits. They fell into the case of the man, who, according to Martial, was ingenious, but not eloquent:

Cum sexaginta numeret Cassellius annos;
Ingeniosus homo est: quando disertus erit?

Lib. vii. epig. 8.

(b) Enough,

(b) Enough, perhaps, has been already said in the notes concerning the teachers of rhetoric ; but it will not be useless to cite one passage more from Petronius, who in literature, as well as convivial pleasure, may be allowed to be *arbiter elegantiarum*. The rhetoricians, he says, came originally from Asia ; they were, however, neither known to Pindar, and the nine lyric poets, nor to Plato, or Demosthenes. They arrived at Athens in evil hour, and imported with them that enormous frothy loquacity, which at once, like a pestilence, blasted all the powers of genius, and established the rules of corrupt eloquence. *Nondum umbraticus doctor ingenia deleverat, cum Pindarus novemque lyrici Homericis versibus canere non timuerunt. Certe neque Platona, neque Demosthenem ad hoc genus exercitationis accessisse video. Nuper ventosa isthæc et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asia commigravit, animosque juvenum ad magna surgentes veluti pestilenti quodam sidere afflavit ; simulque corruptæ eloquentiæ regula stetit et obtinuit.* Petron. Satyricon, l. 2.

Section 5.

(a) When the public taste was vitiated, and to *elevate and surprise*, as Bayes says, was the *new way of writing*, Seneca is, with good reason, ranked in the class of ingenious, but affected authors. Menage says, if all the books in the world were in the fire, there is not one, whom he would so eagerly snatch from the flames as Plutarch. That author never tires him ; he reads him often, and always finds new beauties. He cannot say the same of Seneca ; not but there are admirable passages in his works, but when brought to the test, they lose their apparent beauty by a close examination. Seneca serves to be quoted in the warmth of conversation, but is not of equal value in the closet. Whatever be the subject,

subject, he wishes to shine, and, by consequence, his thoughts are too refined, and often *false*. *Menagiana*, tom. ii. p. 1.

Section 6.

(a) This charge against Seneca is by no means new. Quintilian was his contemporary; he saw, and heard the man, and, in less than twenty years after his death, pronounced judgment against him. In the conclusion of the first chapter of his tenth book, after having given an account of the Greek and Roman authors, he says, he reserved Seneca for the last place, because, having always endeavoured to counteract the influence of a bad taste, he was supposed to be influenced by motives of personal enmity. But the case was otherwise. He saw that Seneca was the favourite of the times, and, to check the torrent that threatened the ruin of all true eloquence, he exerted his best efforts to diffuse a sounder judgment. He did not wish that Seneca should be laid aside; but he could not, in silence, see him preferred to the writers of the Augustan age, whom that writer endeavoured to depreciate, conscious, that, having chosen a different style, he could not hope to please the taste of those, who were charmed with the authors of a former day. But Seneca was still in fashion; his partisans continued to admire, though it cannot be said that they imitated him. He fell short of the ancients, and they were still more beneath their model. Since they were content to copy, it were to be wished that they had been able to vie with him. He pleased by his defects, and the herd of imitators chose the worst. They acquired a vicious manner, and flattered themselves that they resembled their master. But the truth is, they disgraced him. Seneca, it must be allowed; had many great and excellent qualities; a lively imagination; vast

vast erudition, and extensive knowledge. He frequently employed others to make researches for him, and was often deceived. He embraced all subjects; in his philosophy, not always profound, but a keen censor of the manners, and on moral subjects truly admirable. He has brilliant passages, and beautiful sentiments; but the expression is in a false taste, the more dangerous, as he abounds with delightful vices. You would have wished, that he had written with his own imagination, and the judgment of others. To sum up his character: had he known how to rate little things; had he been above the petty ambition of always shining; had he not been fond of himself; had he not weakened his force by minute and dazzling sentences, he would have gained, not the admiration of boys, but the suffrage of the judicious. At present, he may be read with safety by those, who have made acquaintance with better models. His works afford the fairest opportunity of distinguishing the beauties of fine writing from their opposite vices. He has much to be approved, and even admired: but a just selection is necessary, and it is to be regretted that he did not choose for himself. Such was the judgment of Quintilian: the learned reader will, perhaps, be glad to have the whole passage in the author's words, rather than be referred to another book. *Ex industria Senecam, in omni genere eloquentiæ versatum, distuli, propter vulgatam falso de me opinionem, quâ damnare eum, et invisum quoque habere sum creditus. Quod accidit mihi, dum corruptum, et omnibus vitiis fractum dicendi genus revocare ad severiora judicia contendo. Tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adolescentium fuit. Quem non equidem omnino conabar excutere, sed potioribus præferri non sinebam, quos ille non destiterat incessere, cum, diversi sibi conscius generis, placere se in dicendo posse iis quibus illi placerent, diffideret. Amabant autem eum magis, quàm imitabantur; tantumque ab illo defluebant,*

fluebant, quantum ille ab antiquis descenderat. Foret enim optandum, pares, aut saltem proximos, illi viro fieri. Sed placebat propter sola vitia, et ad ea se quisque dirigebat effingenda, quæ poterat. Deinde cum se jactaret eodem modo dicere, Senecam infamabat. Cujus et multæ alioqui et magnæ virtutes fuerunt; ingenium facile et copiosum; plurimum studii; et multarum rerum cognitio, in quâ tamen aliquando ab iis, quibus inquirenda quædam mandabat, deceptus est. Tractavit etiam omnem ferè studiorum materiam; in philosophiâ parum diligens, egregius tamen vitiorum insectator. Multæ in eo claræque sententiæ; multa etiam morum gratiâ legenda; sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciosissima, quod abundat dulcibus vitiis. Velles eum suo ingenio dixisse, alieno judicio. Nam si aliqua contempsisset; si parum concupisset, si non omnia sua amasset; si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum, quàm puerorum amore comprobaretur. Verùm sic quoque jam robustis, et severiore genere satis firmatis, legendus, vel ideo, quod exercere potest utrinque judicium. Multa enim (ut dixi) probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda sunt; eligere modo curæ sit, quod utinam ipse fecisset. Quintil. lib. x. cap. i. From this it is evident, that Seneca, even in the meridian of his fame and power, was considered as the grand corruptor of eloquence. The charge is, therefore, renewed in this Dialogue, with strict propriety. Rollin, who had nourished his mind with ancient literature, and was, in his time, the Quintilian of France, has given the same opinion of Seneca, who, he says, knew how to play the critic on the works of others, and to condemn the strained metaphor, the forced conceit, the tinsel sentence, and all the blemishes of a corrupt style, without desiring to weed them out of his own productions. In a letter to his friend (epist. 114, which has been mentioned section xxvi. note (c), Seneca admits a general depravity of taste, and with great acuteness, and, indeed,

indeed, elegance, traces it to its source, to the luxury and effeminate manners of the age: he compares the florid orators of his time to a set of young fops, well powdered and perfumed, just issuing from their toilette: *Barbâ et comâ nitidos, de capsulâ totos*; he adds, that such affected finery is not the true ornament of a man. *Non est ornamentum virile, concinnitas*. And yet, says Rollin, he did not know that he was sitting to himself for the picture. He aimed for ever at something new, far fetched, ingenious, and pointed. He preferred wit to truth and dignified simplicity. The marvellous was with him better than the natural; and he chose to surprise and dazzle, rather than merit the approbation of sober judgment. His talents placed him at the head of the fashion, and with those enchanting vices, which Quintilian ascribes to him, he was, no doubt, the person, who contributed most to the corruption of taste and eloquence. See Rollin's *Belles Lettres*, vol. i. *sur le Gout*. Another eminent critic, L'ABBE GEDOYN, who has given an elegant translation of Quintilian, has, in the preface to that work, entered fully into the question concerning the decline of eloquence. He admits that Seneca did great mischief, but he takes the matter up much higher. He traces it to OVID, and imputes the taste for wit and spurious ornament, which prevailed under the emperors, to the false, but seducing charms of that celebrated poet. Ovid was, undoubtedly, the greatest wit of his time; but his wit knew no bounds. His fault was exuberance. *Nescivit quod bene cessit relinquere*, says Seneca, who had himself the same defect. Whatever is Ovid's subject, the redundance of a copious fancy still appears. Does he bewail his own misfortunes? he seems to think, that, unless he is witty, he cannot be an object of compassion. Does he write letters to and from disappointed lovers? the greatest part flows from fancy, and little from the heart. He

gives us the brilliant for the pathetic. With these faults, Ovid had such enchanting graces, that his style and manner infected every branch of literature. The tribe of imitators had not the genius of their master; but, being determined to shine in spite of nature, they ruined all true taste and eloquence. This is the natural progress of imitation, and Seneca was well aware of it. He tells us that the faults and blemishes of a corrupt style are ever introduced by some superior genius, who has risen to eminence in bad writing: his admirers imitate a vicious manner, and thus a false taste goes round from one to another. *Hæc vitia unus aliquis inducit, sub quo tunc eloquentia est: cæteri imitantur; et alter alteri tradunt.* Epist. 114. Seneca, however, did not know that he was describing himself. Tacitus says, he had a genius suited to the taste of the age. *Ingenium amœnum et temporis ejus auribus accommodatum.* He adopted the faults of Ovid, and was able to propagate them. For these reasons, the Abbé Gedoyn is of opinion, that Ovid began the mischief, and Seneca laid the axe to the root of the tree. It is certain, that, during the remaining period of the empire, true eloquence never revived.

Section 7.

(a) Historians have concurred in taxing Vespasian with avarice, in some instances, mean and sordid; but they agree, at the same time, that the use, which he made of his accumulated riches, by encouraging the arts, and extending liberal rewards to men of genius, is a sufficient apology for his love of money.

(b) Titus, it is needless to say, was the friend of virtue and of every liberal art. Even that monster Domitian was versed in polite learning, and by fits and starts capable of intense application: but we read in Tacitus, that his studies and his pretended
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love of poetry served as a cloak to hide his real character. See *History*, b. iv. f. 86.

(c) Pliny the younger describes the young men of his time rushing forward into the forum without knowledge or decency. He was told, he says, by persons advanced in years, that, according to ancient usage, no young man, even of the first distinction, was allowed to appear at the bar, unless he was introduced by one of consular dignity. But, in his time, all fences of respect and decency were thrown down. Young men scorned to be introduced; they forced their way, and took possession of the forum without any kind of recommendation. *At hercule ante memoriam meam (maiores natu ita solent dicere), ne nobilissimis quidem adolescentibus locus erat, nisi aliquo consulari producente; tantâ veneratione pulcherrimum opus celebrabatur. Nunc refractis pudoris et reverentiæ claustris, omnia patent omnibus. Nec inducuntur, sed irrumpunt.* Plin. lib. ii. epist. 14.

Section 8.

(a) This want of decorum before the tribunals of justice would appear incredible, were it not well attested by the younger Pliny. The audience, he says, was suited to the orators. Mercenary wretches were hired to applaud in the courts, where they were treated at the expence of the advocate, as openly as if they were in a banqueting-room. *Sequuntur auditores aëtoribus similes, conducti et redempti mancipēs. Convenitur in mediâ basilicâ, ubi tam palam sportulæ quam in triclinio dantur.* Plin. lib. ii. epist. 14. He adds in the same epistle, LARGIUS LICINIUS first introduced this custom, merely that he might procure an audience. *Primus hunc audiendi morem induxit Largius Licinius, hætenus tamen et auditores corrogaret.*

(b) This anecdote is also related by Pliny, in the following manner: Quintilian, his preceptor, told him that one day, when he attended Domitius Afer in a cause before the *centumviri*, a sudden and outrageous noise was heard from the adjoining court. Afer made a pause; the disturbance ceased, and he resumed the thread of his discourse. He was interrupted a second and a third time. He asked, who was the advocate that occasioned so much uproar? Being told, that Licinius was the person, he addressed himself to the court in these words: *Centumvirs! all true eloquence is now at an end. Ex Quintiliano, præceptore meo, audisse memini: narrabat ille, Affectabar Domitium Afrum, cum apud centumviros diceret graviter et lentè (hoc enim illi actionis genus erat), audiit ex proximo immodicum insolitumque clamorem; admiratus reticuit; ubi silentium factum est, repetit quod abruperat; iterum clamor, iterum reticuit; et post silentium, cæpit idem tertio. Novissimè quis diceret? quæsit. Responsum est Licinius. Tum intermissâ causâ, CENTUMVIRI, inquit, HOC ARTIFICIUM PERIIT. Lib. ii. ep. 14.* Domitius Afer has been mentioned, f. xiii. note (d). To what is there said of him may be added a fact related by Quintilian, who says that Afer, when old and superannuated, still continued at the bar, exhibiting the decay of genius, and every day diminishing that high reputation, which he once possessed. Hence men said of him, he had rather decline than *desist*: *Malle eum deficere, quam desinere.* Quint. lib. xii. cap. 11.

(c) The men, who applauded for hire, went from court to court to bellow forth their venal approbation. Pliny says, No longer ago than yesterday, two of my *nomenclators*, both about the age of seventeen, were bribed to play the part of critics. Their pay was about three *denarii*: that at present is the price
of

of eloquence. *Ex judicio in judicium pari mercede transitur. Heri duo nomenclatores mei (habent sane ætatem eorum, qui nuper togas sumpserunt) ternis denariis ad laudandum trahebantur. Tanti constat, ut sis disertus.* Lib. ii. epist. 14.

(d) The whole account of the trade of puffing is related, in the Dialogue, on the authority of Pliny, who tells us that those wretched fycophants had two nick-names; one in Greek, Σοφοκλῆς, and the other in Latin, LAUDICÆNI; the former from *sophos*, the usual exclamation of applause, as in Martial: *Quid tam grande sophos clamat tibi turba togata*; the Latin word importing *parasites*, who sold their praise for a supper. *Inde jam non inurbanè Σοφοκλῆς vocantur; iisdem nomen Latinum impositum est, LAUDICÆNI. Et tamen crescit indies fæditas utraq; linguâ notata.* Lib. iii. epist. 14.

Section 10.

(a) Pliny tells us, that he employed much of his time in pleading causes before the *centumviri*; but he grew ashamed of the business, when he found those courts attended by a set of bold young men, and not by lawyers of any note or consequence. But still the service of his friends, and his time of life, induced him to continue his practice for some while longer, lest he should seem, by quitting it abruptly, to fly from fatigue, not from the indecorum of the place. He contrived, however, to appear but seldom, in order to withdraw himself by degrees. *Nos tamen adhuc et utilitas amicorum, et ratio ætatis, moratur ac retinet. Veremur enim ne fortè non has indignitates reliquisse, sed laborem fugisse videamur. Sumus tamen solito rariores, quod initium est gradatim desinendi.* Lib. ii. epist. 14.

Section II.

(a). The person here distinguished from the rest of the rhetoricians, is the celebrated Quintilian, of whose elegant taste and superior judgment it were superfluous to say a word. Martial has given his character in two lines :

Quintiliane, vagæ moderator summe juventæ,

Gloria Romanæ, Quintiliane, togæ.

Lib. ii. epig. 90.

It is generally supposed that he was a native of *Calaguris* (now *Calahorra*), a city in Spain, rendered famous by the martial spirit of Sertorius, who there stood a siege against Pompey. Vossius, however, thinks that he was born a Roman ; and GEDOYN (the elegant translator mentioned section 6, note (a)), accedes to that opinion, since Martial does not claim him as his countryman. The same writer says, that it is still uncertain when Quintilian was born, and when he died ; but, after a diligent enquiry, he thinks it probable that the great critic was born towards the latter end of Tiberius ; and, of course, when Domitius Afer died in the reign of Nero, A. U. C. 812, A. D. 59, that he was then two-and-twenty. His Institutions of an Orator were written in the latter end of Domitian, when Quintilian, as he himself says, was far advanced in years. The time of his death is nowhere mentioned, but it, probably, was under Nerva or Trajan. It must not be dissembled, that this admirable author was not exempt from the epidemic vice of the age in which he lived. He flattered Domitian, and that strain of adulation is the only blemish in his work. The love of literature may be said to have been his ruling passion ; but, in his estimation, learning and genius are subordinate to honour, truth, and virtue.

Section

Section 12.

(a) Maternus, without contradicting Messala or Secundus, gives his opinion, viz. that the decline of eloquence, however other causes might conspire, was chiefly occasioned by the ruin of a free constitution. To this he adds another observation, which seems to be founded in truth, as we find that, since the revival of letters, Spain has produced one CERVANTES; France, one MOLIERE; England, one SHAKESPEARE, and one MILTON.

Section 13.

(a) Examples of short, abrupt, and even sublime speeches out of the mouth of Barbarians, might, if the occasion required it, be produced in great abundance. Mr. Locke has observed, that the humours of a people may be learned from their usage of words. Seneca has said the same, and, in epistle cxiv. has explained himself on the subject with acute reasoning and beautiful illustration. The whole letter merits the attention of the judicious critic. The remainder of this, and the whole of the following section, serve to enforce the proposition of the speaker, viz. that Roman eloquence died with public liberty. The Supplement ends here. The original text is resumed in the next section, and proceeds unbroken to the end of the Dialogue.

Section XXXVI.

(a) When great and powerful eloquence is compared to a flame, that must be supported by fresh materials, it is evident that the sentence is a continuation, not the opening of a new argument. It has been observed, and it will not be improper to repeat, that, the two former speakers (Messala and Secundus) having stated, according to their way of thinking, the causes of corrupt eloquence, Maternus, as was promised in the outset of the Dialogue,

Dialogue, now proceeds to give another reason, and, perhaps, the strongest of all; namely, the alteration of the government from the old republican form to the absolute sway of a single ruler.

(b) The colonies, the provinces, and the nations that submitted to the Roman arms, had their patrons in the capital, whom they courted with assiduity. It was this mark of distinction that raised the ambitious citizen to the first honours in the state. To have a number of clients as well at home, as in the most important colonies, was the unremitting desire, the study, and constant labour of all, who aimed at pre-eminence; inasmuch that, in the time of the old republic, the men, who wished to be distinguished patrons, impoverished, and often ruined their families, by their profusion and magnificence. They paid court to the common people, to the provinces, and states in alliance with Rome; and, in their turn, they received the homage of their clients. See *Annals*, b. iii. l. 55.

(c) We read in Quintilian, that oral testimony, and depositions signed by the witnesses, were both in use in his time. Written evidence, he observes, was easily combated; because the witness, who chose to speak in the presence of a few, who signed his attestation, might be guilty of a violation of truth with greater confidence; and besides, not being cited to speak, his being a volunteer in the cause was a circumstance against him, since it shewed that he acted with ill-will to the opposite party. With regard to the witness who gives his testimony in open court, the advocate has more upon his hands: he must press him with questions, and in a set speech observe upon his evidence. He must also support his own witnesses, and, therefore, must draw up two lines of battle. *Maximus patronis circa testimonia sudor est.*

est. Ea dicuntur aut per tabulas, aut a præsentibus. Simplicior contra tabulas pugna. Nam et minus obstitisse videtur pudor inter paucos signatores, et pro diffidentiâ premitur absentia. Tacitâ præterea quadam significatione refragatur his omnibus, quod nemo per tabulas dat testimonium, nisi suâ voluntate; quo ipso non esse amicum ei se, contra quem dicit, fatetur. Cum præsentibus verò ingens dimicatio est: ideoque velut duplici contra eos, proque his, acie configitur, actionum et interrogationum. Quint. lib. v. cap. 7.

Section XXXVII.

(a) For an account of Mucianus, see section vii. note (c); also *the History*, b. ii. f. 5. Suetonius relates that Vespasian, having undertaken to restore three thousand brazen plates, which had perished in the conflagration of the capitol (see *the Hist. of Tacitus*, b. iii. f. 71), ordered a diligent search to be made for copies, and thereby furnished the government with a collection of curious and ancient records, containing the decrees of the senate, acts of the commons, and treaties of alliance, almost from the building of the city. Suetonius, *Life of Vespasian*, f. 8. This, with the addition of speeches and letters composed by men of eminence, was, most probably, the collection published by Mucianus. We may be sure that it contained a fund of information, and curious materials for history; but the whole is unfortunately lost.

(b) The person intended in this place must not be confounded with Lucius Crassus, the orator celebrated by Cicero in the Dialogue DE ORATORE. What is here said, relates to Marcus Crassus, who was joined in the triumvirate with Pompey and Cæsar; a man famous for his riches, his avarice, and his misfortunes. While Cæsar was engaged in Gaul, and Pompey in

in Spain, Crassus invaded Asia, where, in a battle with the Parthians, his whole army was cut to pieces. He himself was in danger of being taken prisoner, but he fell by the sword of the enemy. His head was cut off, and carried to Orodes, the Parthian king, who ordered liquid gold to be infused into his mouth, that he, who thirsted for gold, might be glutted with it after his death. *Caput ejus recisum ad regem reportatum, ludibrio fuit, neque indigno. Aurum enim liquidum in rictum oris infusum est, ut cujus animus arserat auri cupiditate, ejus etiam mortuum et exangue corpus auro uteretur.* Florus, lib. iii. cap. 11. Cicero says, that with slender talents, and a small stock of learning, he was able for some years, by his assiduity and interest, to maintain his rank in the list of eminent orators. *Mediocriter à doctrinâ instructus, angustius etiam a naturâ, labore et industriâ, et quod adhibebat ad obtinendas causas curam etiam, et gratiam, in principibus patronis aliquot annos fuit. In hujus oratione sermo Latinus erat, verba non abjecta, res compositæ diligenter; nullus flos tamen, neque lumen ullum: animi magna, vocis parva contentio; omnia ferè ut similiter, atque uno modo dicerentur.* Cicero, *De Claris Oratoribus*, l. 233.

(c) Lentulus succeeded more by his action than by real ability. With a quick and animated countenance, he was not a man of penetration; though fluent in speech, he had no command of words. His voice was sweet and melodious; his action graceful; and with those advantages he was able to conceal all other defects. *Cneius autem Lentulus multo majorem opinionem dicendi actione faciebat, quam quanta in eo facultas erat; qui cum esset nec peracutus (quamquam et ex facie et ex vultu videbatur) nec abundans verbis, etsi fallebat in eo ipso; sed voce suavi et canorâ calebat in agendo, ut ea, quæ deerant, non desiderarentur.* Cicero, *De Claris*

Orato-

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Oratoribus, f. 234. Metellus, Lucullus, and Curio are mentioned by Cicero in the same work. Curio was a senator of great spirit and popularity. He exerted himself with zeal and ardour for the legal constitution and the liberties of his country against the ambition of Julius Cæsar, but afterwards sold himself to that artful politician, and favoured his designs. The calamities that followed are by the best historians laid to his charge. Lucan says of him,

Audax venali comitatur Curio linguâ ;
 Vox quondam populi, libertatemque tueri
 Ausus, et armatos plebi miscere potentes. Lib. i. ver. 269.

And again,

Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
 Gallorum captus spoliis, et Cæsaris auro.
PHARSALIA, lib. iv. ver. 819.

(d) Demosthenes, when not more than seven years old, lost his father, and was left under the care of three guardians, who thought an orphan lawful prey, and did not scruple to embezzle his effects. In the mean time Demosthenes pursued a plan of education, without the aid or advice of his tutors. He became the scholar of Isocrates, and he was the hearer of Plato. Under those masters his progress was such, that at the age of seventeen he was able to conduct a suit against his guardians. The young orator succeeded so well in that prelude to his future fame, that the plunderers of the orphan's portion were condemned to refund a large sum. It is said that Demosthenes, afterwards, released the whole or the greatest part.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) The rule for allowing a limited space of time for the hearing of causes, the extent of which could not be known, began, as Pliny the younger informs us, under the emperors, and was fully established for the reasons which he gives. The custom, he says, of allowing two water-glasses (*i. e. two hour-glasses*) or only one, and sometimes half a one, prevailed, because the advocates grew tired before the business was explained, and the judges were ready to decide before they understood the question. Pliny, with some indignation, asks, Are we wiser than our ancestors? Are the laws more just at present? Our ancestors allowed many hours, many days, and many adjournments in every cause; and for my part, as often as I sit in judgment, I allow as much time as the advocate requires; for, would it not be rashness to guess what space of time is necessary in a cause which has not been opened? But some unnecessary things may be said; and is it not better, that what is unnecessary should be spoken, than that what is necessary should be omitted? And who can tell what is necessary, till he has heard? Patience in a judge ought to be considered as one of the chief branches of his duty, as it certainly is of justice. See Plin. b. vi. ep. 2. In England, there is no danger of arbitrary rules, to gratify the impatience of the court, or to stifle justice. The province of juries, since the late declaratory act in the case of libels, is now better understood; and every judge is taught, that a cause is tried *before him*, not BY HIM. It is his to expound the law, and wait, with temper, for the verdict of those, whom the constitution has entrusted.

(b) Pompey's third consulship was A. U. C. 702; before
Christ,

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Christ, 52. He was at first sole consul, and in six or seven months Metellus Scipio became his colleague.

(c) The centumviri, as mentioned f. vii. note (c), were a body of men composed of three out of every tribe, for the decision of such matters as the prætors referred to their judgment. The nature of the several causes, that came before that judicature, may be seen in the first book DE ORATORE.

(d) The question in this cause before the centumviri was, whether Clusinius Figulus, the son of Urbinia, fled from his post in battle, and, being taken prisoner, remained in captivity during a length of time, till he made his escape into Italy; or, as was contended by Asinius Pollio, whether the defendant did not serve under two masters, who practised physic, and, being discharged by them, voluntarily sell himself as a slave? See Quintilian, lib. vii. cap. 2.

Section XXXIX.

(a) The advocates, at that time, wore a tight cloak, or mantle, like that which the Romans used on a journey. Cicero, in his oration for Milo, argues that he, who wore that inconvenient dress, was not likely to have formed a design against the life of any man. *Apparet uter esset insidiator; uter nihil cogitaret mali: cum alter veheretur in rheda, penulatus, una sederet uxor. Quid horum non impeditissimum? Vestitus? an vehiculum? an comes?* A travelling cloak could give neither grace nor dignity to an orator at the bar. The business was transacted in a kind of chat with the judges: what room for eloquence, and that commanding action, which springs from the emotions of the soul, and

inflames every breast with kindred passions? The cold inanimate orator is described, by Quintilian, speaking with his hand under his robe; *manum intra pallium continens*.

Section XL.

(a) Maternus is now drawing to a conclusion, and, therefore, calls to mind the proposition with which he set out; viz. that the flame of oratory is kept alive by fresh materials, and always blazes forth in times of danger and public commotion. The unimpassioned style, which suited the *areopagus* of Athens, or the courts at Rome, where the advocate spoke by an hour-glass, does not deserve the name of genuine eloquence. The orations of Cicero for Marcellus, Ligarius, and king Dejotarus, were spoken before Cæsar, when he was master of the Roman world. In those speeches, what have we to admire, except delicacy of sentiment, and elegance of diction? How different from the *torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of passion*, that roused, inflamed, and commanded the senate, and the people, against Catiline and Marc Antony!

(b) For the account of Cicero's death by Velleius Paterculus, see f. xvii. note (e). Juvenal ascribes the murder of the great Roman orator to the second Philippic against Antony.

Ridenda poemata malo,
 Quam te conspicuæ divina Philippica famæ,
 Volveris a primâ quæ proxima. SAT. X. ver. 124.

I rather would be Mævius, thrash for rhymes
 Like his; the scorn and scandal of the times,
 Than the *Philippic*, fatally divine,
 Which is inscrib'd the second, should be mine.

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

What

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What Cicero says of Antonius, the celebrated orator, may be applied to himself: That head, which defended the commonwealth, was shewn from that very rostrum, where the heads of so many Roman citizens had been saved by his eloquence. *In his ipsis rostris, in quibus ille rempublicam constantissime consul defenderat, positum caput illud fuit, a quo erant multorum civium capita servata.* Cicero *De Oratore*, lib. iii. f. 10.

Section XLII.

(a) The urbanity with which the Dialogue is conducted, and the perfect harmony with which the speakers take leave of each other, cannot but leave a pleasing impression on the mind of every reader of taste. It has some resemblance to the conclusion of Cicero's Dialogue *DE NATURA DEORUM*. In both tracts, we have a specimen of the politeness with which the ancients managed a conversation on the most interesting subjects, and by the graces of style brought the way of instructing by dialogue into fashion. A modern writer, whose poetical genius cannot be too much admired, chooses to call it a *frippery way of writing*. He advises his countrymen to abandon it altogether; and this for a notable reason: because the Rev. Dr. Hurd (now Bishop of Worcester) has shewn the true use of it. That the dialogues of that amiable writer have an intrinsic value, cannot be denied: they contain a fund of reflection; they allure by the elegance of the style, and they bring us into company with men, whom we wish to hear, to know, and to admire. While we have such conversation-pieces, not to mention others of the same stamp, both ancient and modern, the public taste, it may be presumed, will not easily be tutored to reject a mode of composition, in which the pleasing and the useful are so happily blended. The present Dialogue, it is true, cannot be proved,
beyond

beyond a controversy, to be the work of Tacitus ; but it is also true, that it cannot, with equal probability, be ascribed to any other writer. It has been retained in almost every edition of Tacitus ; and, for that reason, claims a place in a translation, which professes to give all the works of so fine a writer.

C O N C L U S I O N.

THE Author of these volumes has now gone through the difficult task of translating Tacitus, with the superadded labour of supplements to give continuity to the narrative, and notes to illustrate such passages as seemed to want explanation ; but he cannot lay down his pen, without taking the liberty of addressing a few words to the reader. As what he has to offer, relates chiefly to himself, it shall be very short. He has dedicated many years of his life to this undertaking ; and though, during the whole time, he had the pleasure and the honour of being acquainted with many gentlemen of taste and learning, he had no opportunity of appealing to their opinion, or guiding himself by their advice. Amidst the hurry of life, and the various pursuits, in which all are engaged, how could he hope, that any one would be at leisure to attend to the doubts, the difficulties, and minute niceties which must inevitably occur in a writer of so peculiar a genius as Tacitus ? He was unwilling to be a troublesome visitor, and, by consequence, has been obliged, throughout the whole of his work, to trust to his own judgment, such as it is. He spared no pains to do all the justice in his power to one of the greatest writers of antiquity ; but whether he has toiled with fruitless industry, or has in any degree succeeded, must be left to the judgment of others.

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He is now at the end of his labours, and ready, after the example of Montesquieu, to cry out with the voyager in Virgil, *Italiam ! Italiam !* But whether he is to land on a peaceful shore ; whether the men, who delight in a wreck, are to rush upon him with hostile pens, which in their hands are pitchforks ; whether his cargo is to be condemned, and he himself to be wounded, maimed, and lacerated, a little time will discover. Such critics will act as their nature prompts them. Should they *cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of war*, it may be said,

Quod genus hoc hominum, quæve hunc tam barbara morem
Permittit Patria? Hospitio prohibemur arenæ ;
Bella cient, primâque vetant consistere terrâ.

This, they may say, is anticipating complaint ; but, in the worst that can happen, it is the only complaint this writer will ever make, and the only answer they will ever receive from his pen.

It is from a very different quarter that the translator of Tacitus waits for solid criticism. The men, as Pliny observes, who read with malignity, are not the only judges. *Neque enim soli judicant, qui malignè legunt.* The scholar will see defects, but he will pronounce with temper : he will know the difficulty, and, in some cases, perhaps the impossibility, of giving in our language the sentiments of Tacitus with the precision and energy of the original ; and, upon the whole, he will acknowledge that an attempt to make a considerable addition to English literature, carries with it a plea of some merit. While the French could boast of having many valuable translations of Tacitus, and their most eminent authors were still exerting themselves, with emulation, to improve upon their predecessors, the present writer saw,
with

with regret, that this country had not so much as one translation, which could be read, without disgust, by any person acquainted with the idiom and structure of our language. To supply the deficiency has been the ambition of the translator. He persevered with ardour; but, his work being finished, ardour subsides, and doubt and anxiety take their turn. Whatever the event may be, the conscious pleasure of having employed his time in a fair endeavour will remain with him. For the rest, he submits his labours to the public; and, at that tribunal, neither flushed with hope, nor depressed by fear, he is prepared, with due acquiescence, to receive a decision, which, from his own experience on former occasions, he has reason to persuade himself will be founded in truth and candour.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.